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COMMUNISM IN THE DETROIT AREA—PART 2

*J. S. Coughlin, House Committee on
Un-American Activities.*

HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS SECOND SESSION

MARCH 10, 11, 12, AND APRIL 29 AND 30, 1952

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COMMUNISM IN THE DETROIT AREA

MONDAY, MARCH 10, 1952

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Detroit, Mich.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met pursuant to call at 10:40 a. m. in room 740, Federal Building, Detroit, Mich., the Honorable John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood, Francis E. Walter, Donald L. Jackson, and Charles E. Potter.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; Donald T. Appell, investigator; and John W. Carrington, clerk.

Mr. Wood. Let the committee be in order.

For the purpose of this hearing, let the record show that a subcommittee has been set up by the chairman, consisting of Messrs. Walter, Jackson, Potter, and Wood, who are all present.

Are you ready to proceed further, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. Wood. Whom will you have?

Mr. TAVENNER. I will call as the first witness, Senator Stanley Nowak.

Mr. Wood. Will you be sworn?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes.

Mr. Wood. You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. NOWAK. I do.

TESTIMONY OF STANLEY K. NOWAK, ACCCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNCIL, GEORGE W. CROCKETT, JR.

Mr. Wood. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. NOWAK. I am.

Mr. Wood. Will counsel please state his name and business address?

Mr. CROCKETT. I am George Crockett, attorney for Mr. Nowak, a member of the Michigan bar, and my offices are in the Cadillac Tower, Detroit, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. Senator Nowak, will you state your name, please?

Mr. NOWAK. My name is Stanley Nowak.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell it, please?

Mr. NOWAK. N-o-w-a-k.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. NOWAK. I was born in Poland in 1903.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you arrive in the United States?

Mr. NOWAK. I came to the United States in 1914.

Mr. TAVENNER. That would be at the age of 10 years?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized American citizen?

Mr. NOWAK. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you naturalized through the derivative process?

Mr. NOWAK. No. I applied for naturalization and received such.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your father's name?

Mr. NOWAK. John Nowak.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you naturalized?

Mr. NOWAK. I received my naturalization in 1938.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you naturalized?

Mr. NOWAK. In the city of Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where did you file your first naturalization papers?

Mr. NOWAK. That is a matter of public record and certainly the Immigration Service has all the necessary information, and, if this committee desires, I feel confident that the Immigration Service will cooperate.

Mr. WOOD. We are asking you to cooperate with us now.

Mr. NOWAK. I am cooperating.

Mr. WOOD. All right; then please answer the question.

Mr. NOWAK. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, there was some time ago, a number of years ago, when the action was taken against me—in fact, an indictment which later on was dropped—and I am fully aware that the Immigration Service is represented here, well represented here, and—

Mr. WOOD. You have already told us that. We are asking you to cooperate with us and you have been asked a direct question. Will you answer it or not?

Mr. NOWAK. Mr. Chairman, I have to decline to answer this question, relying on the Constitution as provided in the fifth amendment.

Mr. WOOD. In other words, am I to understand you decline to answer where and when you filed papers seeking naturalization as a citizen of the United States Government?

Mr. NOWAK. I explained the reason why.

Mr. WOOD. I asked you the question if you would do it.

Mr. NOWAK. I stated my reasons.

Mr. WOOD. You still adhere to that?

Mr. NOWAK. As I stated in my reply to the direct question, that I was naturalized in the city of Detroit.

Mr. WOOD. Yes; we heard that. Then you were asked when and where you filed your application for naturalization papers. So far you have declined to answer that. Do you persist in that declination?

Mr. NOWAK. I stated, Mr. Chairman, it was in the city of Detroit. I stated that—

Mr. WOOD. When?

Mr. NOWAK. I believe the record will show that I pointed out that I received my citizenship in the city of Detroit.

Mr. WALTER. Do you remember when you received your papers?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes; in 1938.

Mr. WOOD. Does that cover your question, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. No. The question was when he filed his first papers, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. What is your answer to that, if any? By "first papers," I assume you mean application for naturalization?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. NOWAK. What is meant by "first papers"?

Mr. TAVENNER. Your declaration of intention to become an American citizen, and I think it is usually referred to as the first naturalization papers.

Mr. NOWAK. Then my answer to your question is the same as I said before. There are documents and records in the hands of the Immigration Service, and I don't think I should at this moment be asked from memory to decide what I did and how I did it.

Mr. WOOD. Can you tell us within a year of the time you filed that declaration?

Mr. NOWAK. I don't recollect the exact dates. It is natural that I had to apply before I could receive my citizenship papers and the fact that I received my citizenship papers proves that I complied with all the regulations.

Mr. WOOD. That is not an answer to the question at all. The question was: When did you file your declaration of intent for your first papers to apply for citizenship?

Mr. NOWAK. May I ask the committee a question?

Mr. WOOD. We are asking you when you did that.

Mr. NOWAK. I would like to have an explanation why you persist on getting from me a date from memory when you can find all that information documented in the Immigration Bureau.

Mr. WOOD. Nevertheless, we are asking you that question.

Mr. NOWAK. Mr. Chairman, I feel I have given the best answer I can to the best of my knowledge and the best of my information.

Mr. WOOD. What is your answer to the question?

Mr. NOWAK. Mr. Chairman, I decline to answer the detailed questions. I filed my application sometime before 1938.

Mr. WOOD. That is obvious. When?

Mr. NOWAK. I don't recollect at this moment the exact date.

Mr. WOOD. What calendar year?

Mr. NOWAK. My answer is I do not recollect that date at this moment.

Mr. WOOD. Do you want to leave this committee with the statement that you do not even recall the calendar year in which you filed that declaration? Is that the way you want to leave it?

Mr. NOWAK. If I don't remember, I don't remember.

Mr. WOOD. It is not a question whether you can remember or not, because sometimes we very conveniently forget to remember. Can you remember, if you filed, and, if so, when?

Mr. NOWAK. Mr. Chairman, I resent that implication.

Mr. WOOD. I would much rather you use the term "I can't remember" than to say "I don't remember." If you sincerely are trying and you will tell this committee now under your oath, notwithstanding the fact that you got your citizenship papers in 1938, approxi-

mately 14 years ago, and you do not remember when and where you filed your declaration, whether you filed it that year or the year before or the year before that, if you want to leave it that way, that is up to the committee. We want a forthright answer to it, if you will give it to us.

Mr. NOWAK. I am trying to give the best answer I can. If I do not recollect the specific date, I don't want to give you a date.

Mr. WOOD. We did not ask you to state the specific date. I asked if you could tell us the calendar year in which you filed that declaration. Can you do that or not?

Mr. NOWAK. At this moment I don't remember.

Mr. WALTER. Which is your answer? You have given an answer a moment ago that you decline to answer on the ground that the answer might incriminate you. Which is your answer?

Mr. NOWAK. I didn't say I decline to answer because it might incriminate me. I didn't say that.

Mr. WALTER. You said that you declined to answer because of the protection given under the fifth amendment of the Constitution. Now, just exactly which is your answer? Do you decline to answer because of the protection given you under the fifth amendment or don't you recollect? Which is the answer?

Mr. NOWAK. I don't remember the date. I know it was sometime before 1938, and I refer to the Immigration Service for the documents and records. That is honest and sincere, and I can't see all these implications.

Mr. WALTER. Committee counsel can refresh your recollection. Counsel, will you give him those dates and see if that refreshes his recollection?

Mr. TAVENNER. Would it refresh your recollection to state that it was December 15, 1937? Was that the correct date?

Mr. NOWAK. That I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it in December 1937?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, my answer still is: I don't remember the exact date.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it in the year 1937?

Mr. NOWAK. Quite likely.

Mr. TAVENNER. What part of the year was it when you filed your declaration?

Mr. NOWAK. Mr. Chairman, I said before, and I have to repeat again, that I do not remember. If I remembered the date, I would—

Mr. WALTER. Give him the date, and then we can see if he remembers.

Mr. TAVENNER. December 15, 1937, is the information I have. I would like to verify from the witness if that is the correct date.

Mr. NOWAK. May I ask if you have a photostatic copy of my declaration of intention to become a citizen, from the Immigration Service?

Mr. TAVENNER. No; I do not.

Mr. NOWAK. Then you have only a date or some information.

Mr. TAVENNER. Regardless of what I have or may not have, you do admit that it was in the year 1937, as I understand it, that you filed your declaration of intention?

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Crockett, please confer with your client in an undertone, because the microphone picks up your conversation.

Mr. TAVENNER. My recollection is that you said possibly it was in the year 1937.

Mr. NOWAK. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it in 1937, according to your best recollection?

Mr. NOWAK. It is impossible for me to say definitely "Yes" or "No" because I do not remember. If I could look into the files of the Immigration Service at this moment, or if I could look up some records that I have at home, I could verify it; but, from memory, I can't and I don't want to definitely accept any date that I don't remember, that I am not sure of.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the month in which you received your naturalization?

Mr. NOWAK. Frankly, I do not remember the month. It was somewhere early in the spring.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was June 13, 1938; was it not?

Mr. NOWAK. That I do not recollect either.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you say it was more than 1 year prior to that that you filed your first papers?

Mr. NOWAK. If I remembered the exact date, I would definitely answer. Since I do not remember the exact date, I cannot give you a definite answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state for the committee, briefly, what your educational background has been?

Mr. NOWAK. I received a Catholic parochial-school grammar-school education. Then I went to evening high school and did not complete it, and later I tried to extend my education by reading extensively.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state briefly for the committee what your record of employment has been, and I think since you were 21 years of age is adequate. If you were born in 1903, that would mean you should begin with the year 1924.

Mr. NOWAK. What year did you say I am to begin with?

Mr. TAVENNER. I suggested that you begin with the year 1924, when you became 21 years of age.

Mr. NOWAK. When I became 21 years of age? Yes. I worked for about a year or a year and a half for a weekly paper. Then later here in Detroit—

Mr. JACKSON. Would you give the approximate dates?

Mr. NOWAK. Somewhere in 1924-25. That is as close as I can remember. I returned later to Chicago and worked in a clothing industry.

Mr. TAVENNER. By what paper was it that you were employed?

Mr. NOWAK. A paper that is out of existence at the moment. It was a weekly paper in the Polish language.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of it?

Mr. NOWAK. The name of the paper was "Workers Voice" in English translation, and in original Polish it was "Glos Robotniczy."

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name of the paper, please?

Mr. NOWAK. There are two words. The first is G-l-o-s, and the second, R-o-b-o-t-n-i-c-z-y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well. Will you continue, please? After working for about a year and a half you say you went to Chicago.

Mr. NOWAK. Yes; I worked in the clothing industry. I was there until sometime in 1930, when the depression came and I left the city of Chicago and returned to Detroit somewhere around 1931.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a minute. You were in Chicago from approximately 1925 to 1930?

Mr. NOWAK. I lived in Chicago before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; I understand. During this period of time between 1925 and 1930, approximately, you were employed in Chicago.

Mr. NOWAK. I believe it was from 1926 until 1930.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of your employment?

Mr. NOWAK. I worked in clothing as a machine operator.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any other employment besides that while in Chicago?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes. I worked for a publishing house as a clerk, mailing out books.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the publishing house?

Mr. NOWAK. Charles H. Kerr Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you engaged in any other employment?

Mr. NOWAK. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. At that time, I mean, between 1926 and 1930?

Mr. NOWAK. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you say you returned to Detroit in 1930?

Mr. NOWAK. 1931.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you become employed in 1931 in Detroit?

Mr. NOWAK. I didn't have any employment. I was one among the many who were unemployed. It was not until some time in 1934, I believe, that I got a job in a shop here in an automobile shop.

Mr. TAVENNER. In 1934 what was the nature of your employment?

Mr. NOWAK. I worked at a machine, as a helper.

Mr. TAVENNER. By whom were you employed?

Mr. NOWAK. If I correctly recollect the name of the company, I believe it is the Detroit Gasket Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you employed by that company?

Mr. NOWAK. Maybe a year. I don't remember the exact time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you proceed, please?

Mr. NOWAK. After that I worked in a store as a salesman, a paint store.

Mr. TAVENNER. For how long a period?

Mr. NOWAK. I believe until the summer of 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Until 1946?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. During that period from 1935 to 1946, did you have any other employment besides that of salesman for a paint company?

Mr. NOWAK. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the paint company?

Mr. NOWAK. I believe it was the Nu-Enamel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell it, please?

Mr. NOWAK. N-u-E-n-a-m-e-l.

Mr. TAVENNER. After 1946 how were you employed?

Mr. NOWAK. I worked for the UAW.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what capacity?

Mr. NOWAK. In the capacity as organizer; as they call it "international representative."

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you affiliated with any particular unit of the UAW?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, first I worked directly for the international office of the UAW under the supervision of the president, Homer Martin.

Later on, I was affiliated with what is known as the West Side Local 174, of which Walter Reuther was the president.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say you began work for the UAW in 1946. Had you worked for the UAW at any time prior to that?

Mr. NOWAK. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you continue in your official position as international representative of the UAW?

Mr. NOWAK. As international representative of the UAW, I believe it is difficult to recollect the exact date, but it was until sometime in 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. 1937?

Mr. NOWAK. Correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then I have misunderstood the dates all the way through that you have given because you spoke of 1946.

Mr. NOWAK. I am sorry; I meant 1936.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let us go back and get that straight. Then you worked as an organizer for the UAW from 1936 instead of 1946?

Mr. NOWAK. Correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the approximate date when you ceased to work in that capacity?

Mr. NOWAK. I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, can you give us the year?

Mr. NOWAK. 1937, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was president at the time your work was terminated?

Mr. NOWAK. With the international?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. NOWAK. Homer Martin.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you work at any other time for the UAW after 1937 or after you ceased to function as an international representative?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes. I immediately started to work for the West Side Local, local 174.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was in 1937?

Mr. NOWAK. That is to the best of my recollection.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what capacity?

Mr. NOWAK. As on organizer of the local, business representative; they used various terms.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you work for the West Side Local? Is that local 174?

Mr. NOWAK. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain as an organizer?

Mr. NOWAK. Until some time after I was elected to the State senate.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. NOWAK. I was elected to the State senate in the fall of 1938 and took my office in 1939.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was it that you ceased to work for the West Side Local 174 as an organizer?

Mr. NOWAK. We had this understanding: That after I was elected as State senator, that when the legislature was in session, then I did not work for the UAW and I was off the payroll. When the regular session was over, then I would return to my work. It is difficult now to recollect all the dates when I was off the payroll and when I went back on the payroll.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not asking for specific dates when you were on and off the payroll, due to your service in the senate, but approximately when did you sever your connections with the West Side Local 174 as organizer?

Mr. NOWAK. It must have been somewhere in 1939.

Mr. TAVENNER. What shop did local 174 represent?

Mr. NOWAK. It was an amalgamated local, representing many shops on the West Side.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you name them, please?

Mr. NOWAK. I don't know whether I can recollect them all, particularly now, since I am not with the local for a long time.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand.

Mr. NOWAK. But I believe at that time the Cadillac Motor Car Co. was one of the units of the West Side local. Ternstedt was one of the units, Kelsey-Hayes—

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the size of Ternstedt?

Mr. NOWAK. In 1936 I believe there were about 12,000 people working in that unit, in that shop.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that one of the larger of the group?

Mr. NOWAK. One of the largest in the West Side local at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you consider it was one of the most important fields for organization work in the West Side Local 174?

Mr. NOWAK. The West Side local, as a local, was the important local; it was an important local. Every major shop was an important shop, and Ternstedt was one of the major General Motors shops on the West Side.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. Will you proceed to give us the names of the others, please?

Mr. NOWAK. Frankly, that is all that I definitely recollect at this moment. I wouldn't like to cite names that I am not sure. That is a good many years ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. Beginning in 1939, after you terminated your organizational work for the West Side Local 174, how were you employed?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, I always tried to devote my spare time from my legislative work to some local union affiliated with the CIO. It made it difficult for me to hold any regular union position because I was frequently called to Lansing and because of regular sessions lasting for many months—so every time I was free from my legislative work I would offer my service to some local or some union of the CIO and they would call upon me to do whatever work they had during that time. I worked for quite a number of months for district 50 of the United Mine Workers, helping to organize the chemical industry in the downriver section. I also was a part of the drive to organize the Ford Motor Co. Whenever I was free from my legislative service, I would work on particular projects at that moment. I also worked for the local of the hotel and restaurant workers affiliated with the CIO. That is the work that I did in between, and I lived from my meager income from my legislative work and whatever I earned in between my service working for one or the other locals or unions of the CIO.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did that continue during the period that you were in the State senate?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long was that period?

Mr. NOWAK. I served in the State senate for 10 years. I was elected in 1938 and served until and including 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Until when?

Mr. NOWAK. 1948, 10 years. I served 5 terms.

Mr. TAVENNER. After 1948, how were you employed, or rather, beginning with 1948?

Mr. NOWAK. Beginning with 1948?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. After you completed your various terms in the State senate.

Mr. NOWAK. I completed it in 1948, the end of 1948 was the end of my last term in the senate.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. From that time, how have you been employed?

Mr. NOWAK. In 1948 I worked for another CIO union, the Fur and Leather Workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you work with the Fur and Leather Workers?

Mr. NOWAK. Probably 2 years. I don't recollect the exact date.

Mr. TAVENNER. That would bring you up to about 1950, would it not?

Mr. NOWAK. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. You said 2 years.

Mr. NOWAK. You see, I concluded—I worked for the Fur and Leather Union I believe it was 1947 and 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Since you finished your term in the senate in 1948, how have you been employed?

Mr. NOWAK. I tried to develop a small business of my own, selling printing, with not too much of a success. I worked at it for a couple of years. At the present time my small income is largely from public speaking. I have no permanent employment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Your public speaking has been your employment?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Your public speaking has been by what organizations, or what individuals?

Mr. NOWAK. Anyone who would like me to speak on some topic, I gladly spoke.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us a general idea of the nature of the public speaking you have been engaged in during 1951?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes; I will be very happy to. The topic that I speak often on is peace, and particularly that aspect of peace that I consider so very important is the rearmament of Germany. There was quite a demand and request on the part of people who are interested in peace, interested in what is happening in Germany in particular, and why Germany is being rearmed. I made a study of it so that is the topic of discussion that I used most in the last year or two.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you done any work for the UAW since you left the State senate in 1948?

Mr. NOWAK. I have not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why have you not continued with that work?

Mr. NOWAK. Apparently I was not asked.

Mr. TAVENNER. Senator Nowak, the committee's investigation discloses that your name has been identified with quite a number of organizations which have been classified, either by this committee or by

the Attorney General of the United States, as Communist or Communist-front organizations. The committee would like to inquire of you regarding such affiliations with the view of obtaining from you such information as you may have about the Communist infiltration or control of these groups, if it be true, in the Detroit area.

The first organization that I desire to ask you about is the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. I show you a photostatic copy of a letterhead of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, dated April 28, 1941, in which you appear to have been listed as a vice chairman. Will you examine the photostatic copy, please, and state whether or not you were vice chairman in 1941?

Mr. NOWAK. As I understood you to say that this organization you speak of and many others were put on a subversive list by the Attorney General—well, I would like to comment on that first. The Attorney General has arbitrarily put any organization that he pleased on the subversive list and determined they are subversive, without giving them any hearing whatsoever. If my recollection is correct, the Supreme Court just recently ruled on that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let us ask you about your knowledge of any of these organizations and, if you disagree with the Attorney General, I would like to know the basis of your disagreement.

Mr. NOWAK. My disagreement is first on principle.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not talking on principle; I am talking about the particular organization, the letterhead of which was handed you, which you have not yet looked at and which is lying before you on the table. Will you look at it?

Mr. NOWAK. Well—

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know its contents without looking at it?

Mr. NOWAK. No; I don't know its contents.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you look at it, please?

Mr. NOWAK. I will get to it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you get to it now? We will wait for you. Will you look at the document that has been handed to you?

Mr. NOWAK. It is a matter of public record.

Mr. TAVENNER. The letterhead that I handed you is a matter of public record?

Mr. NOWAK. I can't help—it is right here lying right before me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine it?

Mr. NOWAK. What is the purpose of examining it?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine it and I will base some questions on it after you have looked at it, unless you already know its contents?

Mr. NOWAK. I have seen the photostatic copy here. Now, if you have any questions—

Mr. TAVENNER. My question is for you to examine it and see if your name appears on it as a vice chairman. Will you look at it and see if that is true?

Mr. NOWAK. The organization you are speaking of is a matter of public record.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you answer my question, please?

Mr. NOWAK. As I stated before, the Attorney General saw fit to place this organization on a subversive list. Therefore, I have no choice in the matter, not because of my own will, but because of what was done over which I have no control—

Mr. WALTER. Did you ever protest against the action taken by the Attorney General?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. When?

Mr. NOWAK. I believe so. I don't recollect the time and date.

Mr. WALTER. How did you protest?

Mr. NOWAK. I presume it was protested by mail.

Mr. WALTER. You are sure that you wrote a letter to the Attorney General protesting his action?

Mr. NOWAK. The organization—it is my understanding did—I didn't do it individually.

Mr. WALTER. The organization was given a hearing, was it not?

Mr. NOWAK. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. WALTER. Its protest was considered pretty carefully and there was nothing in the protest that indicated to the Attorney General that he had acted improperly when that organization was listed as a subversive organization; is that not the fact?

Mr. NOWAK. My understanding is that the Attorney General never calls in a representative of the organization that he puts on the subversive list but he decides and puts them on the subversive list without a hearing. That's my understanding.

Mr. WALTER. That is right, because of the abundance and preponderance of the evidence. Then when an error is made he is very happy to correct it, just as this committee has done.

Mr. NOWAK. What evidence? Who knows the evidence? Who has cross-examined the evidence?

Mr. WALTER. The Attorney General, the FBI, and the Central Intelligence, and all the agents who are on the alert for the kind of activities we are now discussing.

Mr. NOWAK. But can they legally, without public hearing, without giving opportunity to the people who are involved in it to present their side, can they make a decision?

Mr. WALTER. Of course they can and do by virtue of express orders from the President of the United States.

Mr. NOWAK. Yes, but I may call your attention, Congressman, that the Supreme Court has ruled on it and said that the Attorney General has no right to do that. That before any organization can be placed on a subversive list, that the representative of the organization must be called in and given an opportunity and given a day in court. That is my understanding of the decision of the Supreme Court.

Mr. JACKSON. Are you not in an excellent position to use this as a forum right now to clear the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born of any onus which they have been placed on it? You are asking for an opportunity to appear before the American people and you have a great opportunity here, Senator, the best opportunity in the world. If there is nothing wrong with the organization, as a matter of principle with you, if there is nothing wrong with it, certainly you are not going to incriminate yourself in any way by expressing your opinions on it. You have the greatest forum in the world if you really want a forum.

Mr. WALTER. This is the kind of opportunity that is rarely given to anyone—

Mr. NOWAK. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I didn't come here representing this organization. In fact, I didn't know that the question of this organization will be raised here at all.

Mr. WALTER. You knew that you were a member of the organization; did you not?

Mr. NOWAK. Further—

Mr. WALTER. You knew that, did you not, when you came here? Answer my question. You knew you were a member of that organization when you came here, did you not?

Mr. NOWAK. My attorney advises me that I should not answer any questions concerning membership of any organization that the Attorney General put on the subversive list.

Mr. WALTER. But I thought this organization was improperly listed by the Attorney General, according to you, and if that is a fact, why are you afraid of any criminal prosecution for being a member of it?

Mr. NOWAK. It is true that the organization was improperly listed and that the whole procedure of the Attorney General is improper, but still, that is the decision of the Attorney General and the most I can do is to express how unfair it is, but I can't change it.

Mr. WALTER. You are not taking any chances, are you?

Mr. NOWAK. Congressman, with the situation as it is today, with the kind of procedures, with the kind of methods that are used, no intelligent citizen can take any chances.

Mr. WALTER. I would not go so far as to say that. I know a great many intelligent citizens, the vast majority, who are perfectly willing and anxious to testify in response to the sort of questions that were asked you. Of course, there are intelligent people and there are intelligent people.

Mr. NOWAK. Congressman, how it happens that you never put these questions to what you call favorable witnesses? Why do they always ask these questions and these questions are put to the witness that you choose to classify as unfavorable witnesses?

Mr. WALTER. That is a very improper question to ask me, but since you asked it, I will tell you. We know a great deal more about the witnesses who testify before us than they think we know, and this committee has been very careful to screen everybody who ever testifies so as to prevent a grave injustice being done anyone.

Mr. WOOD. With further reference to that, let me correct the witness. It has not only happened, but happened many times that witnesses have answered questions as to their affiliation with these various front organizations and the Communist Party itself. They have been asked those questions and they have given us forthright answers, not only in connection with a few Communist-front organizations, but some witnesses with reference to dozens and dozens of them. So, any inference that you make that only those who cloak themselves behind the fifth amendment are asked questions as to membership in Communist-front organizations is not a true statement.

Mr. POTTER. Whether a person is a friendly or unfriendly witness is determined by the individual, and not by the committee. You have an opportunity here to be the friendliest witness in the world if you so seek to take that course.

Mr. WOOD. I am going to ask you this question: You say this organization known as the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born has been improperly listed by the Attorney General. I assume from that that you know something of it or you could not make that assertion under your oath, because you are under oath, and you made that assertion under oath, namely, that it has been im-

properly listed by the Attorney General. Will you please elucidate to this committee what there is about this committee that caused you to think it is not a subversive organization?

Mr. NOWAK. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I was not referring to any specific organization for the moment. I was pointing out that all the organizations that are on the list of the Attorney General were placed in that fashion that was illegal and unfair and may I say, un-American?

Mr. WOOD. Did you not in response to a question asked by my colleague, Mr. Walter, from Pennsylvania, just before I interrogated you, state in response to his question, that this organization, the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, had been improperly listed by the Attorney General as being subversive? Did you not answer it that way?

Mr. NOWAK. If I may refresh your memory, Mr. Chairman——

Mr. WOOD. I would like to have a forthright answer to that question. I asked you if you did not answer it that way.

Mr. NOWAK. I will come to it. I don't dodge questions.

Mr. WOOD. Then let us have an answer to that.

Mr. NOWAK. I will——

Mr. WOOD. Then you may make any explanation you desire. Did you answer it that way or not?

Mr. NOWAK. First of all I am not in the habit or custom to answer questions "Yes" or "No," any question.

Mr. POTTER. That is a question as to something you stated and certainly that can be answered "Yes" or "No." Did you say that or did you not?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes, I am going to answer it but I have to answer it my own way. Your attorney remarked in the preface to his question that this organization alongside with others are on the subversive list of the Attorney General and it was in the reply to that statement that I said that any organization that is put on the subversive list by the Attorney General is unfair; the entire procedure is unfair. May I at this moment——

Mr. WOOD. Is that your answer?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Will you answer my question if, in response to an interrogation made to you by a member of this committee, Mr. Walter, when he asked you if you felt that this American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born had been improperly listed by the Attorney General, whether or not you did not state that you did feel it was?

Mr. NOWAK. As I recollect what I said, it is that all organizations were improperly put on the list.

Mr. WOOD. You say now that you did not understand Congressman Walter had asked you that question with particular and specific reference to this committee, the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born? Is that the way you want to leave it now?

Mr. NOWAK. Will you repeat your question?

Mr. WOOD. You are leaving the committee to understand that you now say that you understood Mr. Walter, in interrogating you, to have reference to all organizations listed by the Attorney General rather than the specific American Committee for the Protection of the For-

sign Born. Is that what you mean to leave as an impression of the committee?

Mr. NOWAK. May I ask that the record be read, the exact question as it was recorded?

Mr. Wood. I am asking you: Do you remember what it was?

Mr. NOWAK. Why must we guess about it? Is it unfair to ask that the question be read from the record?

Mr. Wood. Do you say it is your understanding it did not have reference to this particular committee? That is what I want to know.

Mr. NOWAK. Why is there objection to having the record read?

Mr. Wood. Mr. Nowak, you are a witness and not an interrogator here; bear that in mind. I am asking you now if that is the way you understand it. I just want to know honestly of your own convictions about it and whether that is the way you understand it.

Mr. NOWAK. Mr. Chairman, may I also comment on it? I served also on many committees and I have some experience—

Mr. WOOD. I am familiar with your 10 years' experience in the Legislature or Senate of the State of Michigan. I know you have served on committees before and have been before committees long enough to know when a committee is undertaking to ascertain any facts from a witness that the committee is entitled to at least a forthright answer from the witness.

Mr. NOWAK. That is right.

Mr. Wood. Will you give us one then?

Mr. NOWAK. My answer is to have the record read.

Mr. Wood. If the committee wants to go back to the record, we will do it. I am asking you your recollection about it.

Mr. NOWAK. Why should I depend on my recollection?

Mr. Wood. Are you unwilling to?

Mr. NOWAK. I asked that the record be read.

Mr. Wood. Are you unwilling to depend on your memory of 10 or 5 minutes ago?

Mr. NOWAK. Why do we have records here? Why can't we go and have the record read?

Mr. Wood. I am asking if you are unwilling to rely on your memory.

Mr. NOWAK. No, but I would rather rely on the record.

Mr. Wood. You would rather rely on the record?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes, it is much better than my memory.

Mr. WALTER. Even though it goes back only 10 minutes?

Mr. NOWAK. Regardless.

Mr. Wood. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the photostatic copy of the letter-head of April 28, 1941, in evidence and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WOOD. That will be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 1" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photostatic copy of a leaflet referring to an address delivered before the National Conference on the Foreign Born in Post War America at the Hotel New Yorker in New York City, October 20, and 21, 1945. This leaflet was circularized by the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. Does your name appear thereon as chairman of the organization? By

that I mean the organization, the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born? Have you looked at it?

Mr. NOWAK. I see it, it is before me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does your name appear on it as chairman of the organization?

Mr. NOWAK. I see there is "Stanley Nowak," I see the name, and marked with a red arrow, so I couldn't help see it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you see anything else right beside as to the position of that individual?

Mr. NOWAK. As I see there it says, "Chairman."

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that you?

Mr. NOWAK. Mr. Chairman, nothing would please me more than to answer positively your question—

Mr. WOOD. That makes it unanimous. Suppose you go ahead and do it.

Mr. NOWAK. I know, but you see, as your attorney said, this organization is placed on the subversive list by the Attorney General and therefore I have no choice in the matter but to rely on the constitutional protection that I have as stipulated in the fifth amendment.

Mr. WALTER. Suppose that which you say is correct, it is not a crime to be a member of any organization that the Attorney General has placed on that list.

Mr. NOWAK. Then, Congressman Walter, will you answer me a question? Why did the Attorney General put that organization on a subversive list? What is meant by "subversive list"?

Mr. WALTER. To prevent infiltration into sensitive places in Government of the kind of people dedicated to overthrow the very things you are now hiding behind.

Mr. NOWAK. I am not hiding behind anything.

Mr. WALTER. You are hiding behind the fifth amendment.

Mr. NOWAK. I am not.

Mr. WALTER. Then answer the question.

Mr. NOWAK. I want to make it clear that wherever I stand on my constitutional rights, I am hiding nothing; I am only exercising that right that the Constitution gives every citizen.

Mr. WOOD. You will have to admit that you are invoking a provision of the Constitution of America, will you not?

Mr. NOWAK. I am exercising a constitutional right.

Mr. WOOD. That is what I am talking about. You are invoking a provision of the Constitution as a right to claim to refuse to answer these questions.

Mr. NOWAK. I am exercising the right the Constitution gives me and I don't believe it is a crime—it hasn't become a crime to exercise the rights the Constitution gives us. It is a crime to violate the right.

Mr. POTTER. You are fortunate to live in a country where you can exercise that right, the right you are now exercising. There are many countries today, as in your own native Poland, which is now under the heel of communism, where the right you are exercising here today is not granted to those fine people in your native country of Poland.

Mr. NOWAK. May I comment on that? I am defending that right that some people are trying to take it out of the Constitution and trying to violate it. I am defending that right. May I also remark, Con-

gressman Potter, about Poland. I would like to know what you know about Poland.

Mr. WOOD. I understood you to say awhile ago you were not claiming that it would tend to incriminate you in any way to answer these questions when you invoke the provisions of the fifth amendment; is that true?

MR. CROCKETT. Mr. Chairman, I do not think any such statement was made by my client. It is a misquotation of the record.

Mr. WOOD. Did you make that statement or not?

MR. CROCKETT. What is the statement?

Mr. WOOD. Did you make the statement a minute ago when you invoked the fifth amendment that it did not mean you were claiming that to answer the question would incriminate you? Did you make that statement or not?

MR. NOWAK. I do not recollect the exact words I used. The record will show.

Mr. WOOD. I ask you now if that is what you meant to say.

MR. CROCKETT. The fifth amendment says no person shall be compelled to testify with respect to anything that can be used against him and I think, Congressman Walter, what you have in mind is to include the words, "in a criminal proceeding." Is that what you have in mind, Congressman?

MR. WALTER. Go on, I know the Constitution. Go on and advise your client.

MR. CROCKETT. I have heard it quoted by persons whom I thought knew it, but who evidently do not know it.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Crockett, we would appreciate it if you would confer with your client in undertones. I have called your attention to it before because the microphone picks up your conversation.

MR. NOWAK. Mr. Chairman, as my counsel advised me, that when I rely on the fifth amendment I am not implying anything, any guilt at all, I feel confident of my innocence, but the fifth amendment provides that I am not to testify against myself or anyone.

MR. WALTER. How would you testify against yourself?

MR. NOWAK. Under the present circumstances, with the hysteria throughout the country, with the Attorney General arbitrarily putting organizations and people on subversive lists, with the new theory of guilt by association—

MR. WALTER. Mr. Nowak, you are not testifying against yourself in any matter that would get you in any difficulty. It is not a crime to be a member of the organizations. If the Attorney General has listed them, it is for a purpose, but to admit you are a member of an organization that has been classified as subversive does not in any wise implicate you in anything so you are not being asked to give any testimony against yourself.

MR. CROCKETT. Mr. Congressman, you are asking my client a legal question. Do you mind if I as an attorney answer it?

MR. WALTER. I will withdraw it. I know what you will tell him to answer. I will save some time and withdraw it.

MR. TAVERNER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer in evidence the leaflet and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 2."

Mr. WOOD. It will be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 2" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photostatic copy of an article that appeared in the Daily Worker of December 6, 1949, on page 2. According to this article, you were a speaker at the sixteenth annual conference of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born held here in Detroit in December 1949. Will you examine it, please?

Mr. NOWAK. I see it before me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you examine it?

Mr. NOWAK. I see it here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine it, please, and state whether or not Rev. Charles A. Hill of Detroit was also a speaker at that meeting, or was a speaker at that meeting?

Mr. NOWAK. I have seen the document and if it is there then you know it. Why must I testify for someone else?

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall that Rev. Charles A. Hill was a speaker on that occasion?

Mr. NOWAK. On this document I do see the name of Rev. Charles A. Hill.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he speak at that meeting?

Mr. NOWAK. Who do you have in mind?

Mr. TAVENNER. The Reverend Charles A. Hill, to whom you just referred. Do you recall it?

Mr. NOWAK. There are many Hills in—

Mr. TAVENNER. Any Rev. Charles A. Hill. That ought to be a simple question.

Mr. NOWAK. As far as this document is concerned that you submitted here, all I see is a name.

Mr. TAVENNER. My question was: Did Rev. Charles A. Hill, to your knowledge, speak on that occasion?

Mr. NOWAK. First, what Charles A. Hill do you have in mind, and second, what is wrong with speaking publicly?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you answer my question?

Mr. NOWAK. I would like at this moment to make this statement for the committee. I have never been an informer. I have never served as a stool pigeon, what we call in the shops and factories and later in the union, and I do not propose at this time to serve as an informer. If this committee is interested, you have plenty of investigators, and I am sure your investigators—

Mr. POTTER. Mr. Nowak, I never heard anyone inform on the Boy Scouts.

Mr. CROCKETT. I believe you said that last week, Congressman.

Mr. JACKSON. It is just as true this week.

Mr. POTTER. And I mean it today.

Mr. JACKSON. We will change it a little. No one ever informed on the YMCA. You have to inform on something in the nature of a conspiracy.

Mr. NOWAK. Congressman, if I may observe on that one, no one knows, if this thing goes on as it is now, whether we will not be observers and informers even on the Boy Scouts.

Mr. JACKSON. If it goes to the ultimate end advocated by some of the witnesses who have sat in that chair, Communist commissars will get the words out of them with thumb screws. You are very lucky to sit before a committee of the United States Congress, Mr. Nowak.

In Poland they would have you out before a stone wall tomorrow morning at sunrise.

Mr. Wood. You were asked awhile ago about an individual that was referred to by counsel. How many people do you know by that name?

Mr. NOWAK. I am sure that if we look in the telephone book there will be quite a number of them.

Mr. Wood. I did not ask you that. I asked you how many you know.

Mr. NOWAK. Why ask the question? What importance has it to the investigation?

Mr. Wood. You were asked which one we referred to and I am asking you how many you know.

Mr. NOWAK. What you are doing is exactly turning the question around.

Mr. Wood. You may put whatever construction you may on it but that is the question I have asked, namely, How many people by that name do you know?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. Wood. You may proceed, Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Carl Winter also a speaker on that occasion?

Mr. NOWAK. Will you tell me something about who is this Carl Winter you are referring to?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is not necessary for your answer. I am asking you if you know that Carl Winter spoke on that occasion.

Mr. NOWAK. I would like to have some identification, which Carl Winter?

Mr. Wood. Did any Carl Winter speak there?

Mr. TAVENNER. Any Carl Winter.

Mr. NOWAK. If I was to answer questions concerning anyone at the meeting you speak of, I would be admitting that I was at the meeting and I decline to answer that question.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Counsel, at this point we will take a recess for about 15 minutes.

(Short recess.)

AFTER RECESS

Mr. Wood. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not Carol Weiss King was also a speaker at that meeting?

Mr. NOWAK. Mr. Counsel, may I state, so we understand one another, that I will not—that I will decline to testify concerning any organization that is on the Attorney General's subversive list, claiming my constitutional right as stipulated in the fifth amendment.

Mr. Wood. It will abbreviate the record considerably if you will just answer the questions or decline to answer, without explaining your position.

Mr. NOWAK. May I also point out—

Mr. Wood. You have already pointed that out. Just answer the question.

Mr. NOWAK. —that your counsel would abbreviate the expenses of the taxpayers if he stops asking these questions that he knows well I have said over and over that I decline to answer.

Mr. Wood. Now, will you answer that one question, Mr. Nowak?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer any question concerning any organization—

Mr. Wood. Mr. Nowak?

Mr. NOWAK. That is on the list of subversive organizations.

Mr. Wood. You were asked a question with respect to a particular individual; whether or not the individual spoke on the occasion of the meeting that he asked you about. What is your answer to that question?

Mr. NOWAK. The reference was made to this speaking at a meeting of an organization listed as subversive.

Mr. Wood. What is your answer? Did he or didn't he?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the constitutional rights—

Mr. WALTER. That is very sensible and sound, except—were you a speaker on that occasion?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the constitutional grounds as provided in the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the photostat copy of the item in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 3."

Mr. Wood. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 3," and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Thank you.

Mr. WALTER. Due to the fact that you decline to answer these questions because of protection, you say, in the fifth amendment, let me read the pertinent part.

Nor shall he be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself. I am at loss to understand why you feel that language in the fifth amendment makes it possible for you to properly decline to answer a question of whether or not a person spoke at a meeting.

Mr. CROCKETT. Counsel, that is another legal question. If you want me to, I will answer it.

Mr. WALTER. No, no, don't bother. I know the answer myself. Thank you just the same.

Mr. TAVENNER. Senator Nowak, the investigations of the committee disclose that one of the purposes for the foundation of the organization of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born was to defend aliens who may be subject to deportation. Was that known to you to be one of the purposes of the organization?

Mr. NOWAK. I stated before that I decline to answer questions concerning any organization that the Attorney General listed as subversive on constitutional grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Aside from the organization, what is your position with relation to aliens who have entered this country illegally?

Mr. NOWAK. You want my opinion on it?

Mr. TAVENNER. I want your position; what your position has been; what you have done about it in the past. Have you ever endeavored to defend a person who entered this country illegally from deportation?

Mr. CROCKETT. May I ask as counsel, that committee counsel explain what he means by entering the country illegally?

Mr. WALTER. Jumping ship, stowaway.

Mr. CROCKETT. Is that what you are limiting it to?

Mr. WALTER. Without the proper credentials. Actually, it is limited to those two cases: jumping ship, stowaway. Coming into the United States without proper authorization.

Mr. CROCKETT. In other words, you are not talking about exclusion cases?

Mr. WALTER. We are talking about deportation, because, after they are here, the procedure is then to deport. You can't exclude somebody who has already entered.

Mr. CROCKETT. That depends on how long they have been here.

Mr. Wood. I would like to call your attention to the fact that this witness is intelligent. He knows what illegal entry into this country is.

Mr. CROCKETT. I am not sure that he does. I am not sure that you do, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Wood. Let him say so, if he doesn't know.

Mr. NOWAK. May I make a general statement?

Mr. TAVENNER. No; just answer the question.

Mr. NOWAK. That will answer it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let it be in the form of an answer, rather than a statement.

Mr. NOWAK. I am not interested in protecting anyone who violates any deportation or immigration law, but, I am interested in the fact that anyone should be given a fair trial and an opportunity to present his case, and, if he is found innocent, to receive what assistance is necessary so he can prove his innocence. That is the answer that I can give to your question.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Nowak, do you know Jack Wasserman?

Mr. NOWAK. Congressman, will you tell us who is Jack Wasserman?

Mr. WALTER. Do you know anybody by the name of Jack Wasserman?

Mr. NOWAK. May I see the document you are reading from?

Mr. WALTER. You have already seen it. You know all about that. That is exhibit No. 1, I believe.

Mr. NOWAK. This document is the one that was submitted here a short while ago. It is related to the organization that was mentioned, and I explained to the committee that because this organization is on the subversive list, therefore I cannot answer any questions concerning both the organization and any individuals specified in this document.

Mr. WALTER. You decline to answer the question whether or not you know Jack Wasserman, whose name appears on that paper?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes, Congressman, I decline to answer.

Mr. WALTER. That is very interesting to me because Mr. Wasserman is the man who is presently opposing the immigration code which will be presented to the Congress of the United States on Thursday, of which I am very proud to be the author. I am glad to know you refuse to answer the question whether or not you know the principal leader to the opposition of the enactment of this legislation. It may be a better law than I thought it was.

Mr. NOWAK. I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. WALTER. Yes; I understand; you refused two, three, four, five times.

Mr. NOWAK. Because of the organizations and the individuals that are listed on the subversive list.

Mr. WALTER. I understand.

Mr. NOWAK. I wish I was at liberty to speak freely on this matter,

but, with the situation as it is today, I have to protect myself by the constitutional rights.

Mr. WALTER. Protect yourself from what?

Mr. NOWAK. That was discussed here several times.

Mr. WALTER. Protect yourself from what?

Mr. NOWAK. I have stated here, both my attorney and I, that because the Attorney General arbitrarily listed organizations as subversive, and because that list is open, often used in courts, and used by many individuals as an established fact that anyone related to or has any association with it is subversive, therefore, I cannot here give any positive answers on questions as to these organizations; I have to rely on the protection of the constitutional rights given me in such case.

Mr. WALTER. Protection against what?

Mr. NOWAK. Possible action against me.

Mr. WALTER. What for?

Mr. NOWAK. That, I don't know. People have different ways and different reasons for it. I call on, Mr. Congressman, maybe you don't know, but there are people who are always anxious to defeat me in elections, and, one time they probably would have succeeded, with the Justice Department taking action against me, and it was necessary for Attorney General Biddle to examine the facts and point out there were no basis. I have my political enemies here.

Mr. WALTER. This is a great opportunity for you to expose your political enemies. All you have to do is to give us a straightforward story, and, I know that you can be of great help to this committee. It is indeed disappointing to me, and the other members of the committee, that you won't help us, because, we know you could if you want to.

Mr. NOWAK. Congressman Walter, I would be very happy to meet any members of this committee on a public debate, radio, television, public hall; away from these rules here, and I will speak very freely. If you or any member of this committee will accept that kind of discussion, outside of these regulations that I am under here—

Mr. WALTER. You flatter yourself.

Mr. JACKSON. You mean, of course, without taking the oath under which you are testifying today.

Mr. NOWAK. Without the oath, as my attorney points out, there would be no basis for criminal prosecution.

Mr. JACKSON. Without the oath there would be no reason for you to be afraid of the questions you are refusing to answer.

Mr. NOWAK. Not necessarily.

May I also say, Congressman Walter, you said about my willingness to cooperate with this committee: I would be very glad to cooperate with this committee if this committee was really interested in finding out the reasons why we have communism; why some people work for new ideas, new political theories.

Mr. WOOD. Suppose you tell the committee why you have those ideas.

Mr. NOWAK. Mr. Chairman, you have already concluded that I have those ideas?

Mr. WOOD. I assume from your answers that you have. I think it is a reasonable assumption.

Mr. NOWAK. You expect me to answer yes or no?

Mr. Wood. No. I want you to give me a reason.

Mr. NOWAK. Reason for what?

Mr. Wood. Why you embrace this philosophy.

Mr. NOWAK. I have never said I embraced—

Mr. Wood. That is very true, but you left a very strong inference. I will ask you if you have?

Mr. NOWAK. What philosophy?

Mr. Wood. Communism. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWAK. Mr. Chairman, I decline to answer any question—

Mr. Wood. Do you decline to answer that question?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline on the constitutional grounds.

Mr. Wood. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the constitutional grounds as provided in the fifth amendment.

Mr. Wood. All right.

Mr. NOWAK. May I return, Congressman Walter, to the first question you raised, that—

Mr. JACKSON. Let's have the regular order, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Wood. Put a question, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Senator Nowak, were you elected national secretary of the American Slav Congress at the fourth congress held in Chicago, December 26, 1938?

Mr. NOWAK. May I ask a question? Has the American Slav Congress been placed on the Attorney General's list?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will your question be based on an answer to that?

Mr. NOWAK. My answer, you mean? Very likely.

Mr. TAVENNER. Your answer. Suppose you answer the question yourself without my help.

Mr. NOWAK. Well, I pointed out before, many times, that I decline to answer questions concerning any organizations that the Attorney General has placed on his list.

Mr. Wood. He isn't asking but about one.

Mr. CROCKETT. I think the committee has a publication called a list of organizations that have been labeled as subversive. Do you have that available? If so, I can examine it and advise my client.

Mr. Wood. We don't have it.

Mr. TAVENNER. We don't have it, but I will advise you it has been listed.

Mr. WALTER. Will that affect the answer?

Mr. CROCKETT. It may, as far as my witness is concerned.

Mr. WALTER. I thought so.

Mr. Wood. Will it help the truthfulness of the answer?

Mr. CROCKETT. Definitely.

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer any questions—

Mr. WALTER. You have said that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you decline to answer the question I asked?

Mr. NOWAK. Let me finish.

Mr. Wood. The question is about this organization. Do you decline to answer?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes; I decline to answer any questions concerning—

Mr. Wood. We aren't talking about any question. Talk about this one.

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question concerning the American Slav Congress, because it is listed by the Attorney General as subversive, and, therefore, I rely upon my constitutional rights to decline to answer such a question, as provided in the fifth amendment.

Mr. JACKSON. May I ask that the citation of the American Slav Congress be written into the record, and also the citation on the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

Mr. WOOD. Very well, let it be admitted.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

1. Cited as subversive and Communist. (*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)

2. "One of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States." (*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 155; also cited in Report, June 25, 1942, p. 13.*)

3. "Among the Communist-front organizations for racial agitation" which also serve as "money-collecting media" and "as special political organizing centers for the racial minority they pretend to champion." "Works closely with the International Labor Defense, legal arm of the Communist Party, in defense of foreign-born Communists and sympathizers." (*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, 1947, p. 45; 1948, p. 113.*)

AMERICAN SLAV CONGRESS

1. Cited as subversive and Communist. (*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.*)

2. Cited as "a Moscow-inspired and directed federation of Communist-dominated organizations seeking by methods of propaganda and pressure to subvert the 10,000,000 people in this country of Slavic birth or descent." (*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report on the American Slav Congress and associated organizations, House Report No. 1951, April 26, 1950 (originally released June 26, 1949) p. 1.*)

3. A "permanent, completely Communist created and controlled organization." (*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 35.*)

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photostatic copy of an article that appeared in the Daily Worker of May 18, 1950, at page 2. According to this article, you, as national secretary of the American Slav Congress and chairman of its Michigan division, made a report to the national committee of the American Slav Congress in May 1950. According to this article, the National Committee of the American Slav Congress decided to convene a national peace conference and to participate in the Second World Congress for Peace to be held in Italy. Was the National Peace Congress ever held by the American Slav Congress?

Mr. NOWAK. Counsel, I pointed out before, and, I think, you are wasting the time of the committee and the taxpayers' money—

Mr. WOOD. You are taking up a lot more time in explaining the answer than if you would answer the question as he asked it. Why don't you just decline, and let's get along?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question, as provided under the fifth amendment. I decline because the organization—

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Nowak, do you belong to any organizations that are not listed on the Attorney General's proscribed list?

Mr. CROCKETT. You have to have the list. You have about 300 organizations on that list.

Mr. WALTER. That would imply that the witness would have some doubt about some of the organizations he belongs to.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you belong to any organizations, Mr. Nowak—and I ask this very sincerely—about which there is no question as to whether or not it has been proscribed?

Mr. NOWAK. Actually, I am unable to answer the question. I don't have the list; I haven't seen the list of the Attorney General, of the subversive organizations, for some time, and I know that list changes.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you belong to any service clubs, Rotary, Kiwanians, Optimist, Exchange?

Mr. CROCKETT. They are supposed to be without taint?

Mr. JACKSON. It is my understanding that no one has brought them into question.

Do you belong to any of those?

Mr. NOWAK. No; I don't.

Mr. JACKSON. Elks, any Masonic Order?

Mr. NOWAK. No.

Mr. JACKSON. Have you been active in Community Chest affairs here in the community?

Mr. NOWAK. I make donations.

Mr. JACKSON. Have you served actively on the board, or as—

Mr. NOWAK. No.

Mr. JACKSON. Of the American Red Cross?

Mr. NOWAK. No.

Mr. JACKSON. To what organizations do you belong, Mr. Nowak, which are not in any way connected with the Attorney General's list, or any organization which may have been proscribed by this committee?

Mr. NOWAK. Before I could truthfully and accurately answer the question, I would first have to examine the list of the Attorney General, then examine some of my own records, and see what organizations I have played a small part or bigger part, and then truthfully and accurately answer the question.

Mr. WOOD. You would want to compare your organization membership to the Attorney General's list, is that correct?

Mr. NOWAK. I would like to check the Attorney General's list and see who is on it and who is not, then I can answer truthfully.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, since counsel asked for a copy of the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, published by this committee, we have obtained a copy, and I will hand it to him for his use.

Mr. CROCKETT. Thank you very much, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is the Slavic American a quarterly publication of the American Slav Congress?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the reason that I mentioned before, because the organization is on the subversive list, and, therefore, I decline to answer on constitutional grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photostatic copy of a page from the fall 1948 issue of the Slavic American. Will you examine it, please; and state whether or not your name appears thereon as a member of the editorial board?

(Paper was extended to the witness.)

Mr. NOWAK. What is the question?

Mr. TAVENNER. The question is, whether or not the photostatic copy of the page which I handed you shows your name as a member of the editorial board of the Slavic American?

Mr. NOWAK. I see before me the name of Stanley Nowak.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that you?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer on constitutional grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the photostatic copy of the page in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 4."

Mr. WOOD. It may be entered.

(The above-referred-to- document was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 4," and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photostatic copy of a page from the fall 1947 issue of the Slavic American. On page 52 appears an article on the Michigan chapter of the American Slav Congress. According to this article you spoke at the sixth annual conference of the Michigan chapter which was held in Detroit on March 30, 1947. Will you examine it, please?

Mr. NOWAK. I see the copy before me.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are reported as saying that the chief peace problem facing the American people is the development of political activities to keep America democratic and to help eradicate Fascist ideology. If you were correctly reported there, why did you not advocate eradication of Communist as well as Fascist ideology?

Mr. NOWAK. If this committee desires my opinion on the matter, I will be very happy to present it. I cannot, for the position that I have taken, make any specific reference to any meeting organized by the organization that is on the subversive list. If you want my opinion on the matter you raised, I will be very happy to present it.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right, will you answer the question?

Mr. NOWAK. May I have that question read, Miss Stenographer?

Mr. WOOD (addressing court reporter). Read the question.

(The question was read by the court reporter.)

Mr. NOWAK. Because of a legal problem, I will be glad to express my opinion on the question you raised, but I cannot refer to a specific meeting you are talking about, for the reason I have given before.

Mr. WOOD. Very well.

Mr. NOWAK. If you want my opinion, I will be very happy to tell you my opinion.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well, let's get away from that meeting, and let me ask you this question: Is it your position that in order to help keep America democratic, that we should eradicate Fascist ideology?

Mr. NOWAK. Correct. It is my position that you cannot combine fascism and democracy.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it your position that it is perfectly proper to have Communist ideology, that we can preserve our American democracy, preserve America and keep American democracy and entertain a communistic philosophy of government at the same time?

Mr. NOWAK. My answer, counsel, is, that I am interested in preserving democracy, and, when we have democracy functioning, when the people have a way of expressing themselves, when the people have a way of taking care of their problems, there will be no need and no danger for either fascism or communism.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you answer my question? You are not answering my question.

Mr. NOWAK. I am expressing my opinion.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; but, on another matter. Will you confine yourself to my question?

Mr. NOWAK. I am interested in preserving democracy.

Mr. TAVENNER. I didn't ask that question. We all are. I am asking you whether it is consistent with your view that you can entertain the philosophy of communism at the same time?

Mr. NOWAK. According to my understanding of democracy, every person has a right to have his opinion; has a right to advocate whatever reform he is proposing, whether that reform you will call socialistic or whether it is a reform you will call communistic, is a matter of opinion, but, what I am interested in, as a matter of principle, that the people have a right to speak, that the people have a right to voice their opinions, that the constitutional right of freedom of speech and press is preserved, and, when we have that preserved, there is nothing to worry about.

Mr. WALTER. In the exercise of those rights, you contend that is a right to become a part of the conspiracy dictated by Moscow to overthrow this form of Republic?

Mr. NOWAK. I said nothing of the kind.

Mr. WALTER. I am merely asking the question.

Mr. NOWAK. I, as I said, I said nothing of the kind. I don't at all support any movement that advocates any violent methods, but, my point is, the people have a right to speak, and, may I call your attention, speaking of violence and such, speaking of subversion, here in the Detroit News I read a report from the police commissioner of the State Police of Michigan, in which he says publicly, "No evidence was submitted of any violence or any advocacy of violence," information he pointed out even before this committee, your informer, and the result of the Michigan State Police submits no evidence of violence, no evidence of fraud. This is a matter of record. Here is the report of the Police Commission of the State of Michigan.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you answer?

Mr. NOWAK. I would like to put this in the record for your information, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WALTER. Now, will you answer my question?

Mr. NOWAK. May I?

Mr. WALTER. You made at least two speeches since I have asked the question. Will you answer it, please?

Mr. NOWAK. You all are in politics, and it is a sort of habit of politicians—

Mr. WALTER. I hope we are not in the same political bed.

Mr. WOOD. Let's eliminate as many arguments as we can. Let's eliminate as many speeches as we can.

Mr. NOWAK. Fine.

Mr. WOOD. And confine our answers to the question.

Mr. NOWAK. May I hear the question?

Mr. WALTER. Will you [addressing court reporter] read the question to him?

(The question was read by the court reporter.)

Mr. TAVENNER. By "at the same time" I meant, at the same time you are attempting to keep the United States democratic.

Mr. NOWAK. I believe I have answered the question, but I can further elaborate, if you desire. First of all, the understanding of communism: People have all kinds of conceptions of what communism is. My answer again is, I am interested in the democratic right of every person to express—

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; you have said that before, but that is not an answer.

Mr. NOWAK. That is my answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is the only answer you can give to the question?

Mr. NOWAK. That is my answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is as far as you are willing to answer that question?

Mr. NOWAK. That is my answer.

Mr. WALTER. Since Korea, there shouldn't be any doubt in anybody's mind as to what communism is, and its aims and purposes.

Mr. NOWAK. Why?

Mr. WALTER. If you don't know, I am not going to tell you.

Mr. NOWAK. If the people in Korea don't like our form of government, capitalistic democracy, as we refer to it, they have the privilege and right to have whatever form of government they want to. It is not our right to enforce upon the people of Korea our form of government, just as it isn't their right to enforce their form of government upon us; just as we would resent someone forcing another form of government upon us. The people of Korea have a right.

Mr. JACKSON. Is it your contention that the people who are under the heels of the Communists have embraced the philosophy willingly and out of desire to be ruled by Moscow?

Mr. NOWAK. I leave it to their judgment; that the people are able to take care of themselves.

Mr. JACKSON. You should talk to prisoners in a penitentiary. It might be illuminating.

Mr. WOOD. Put a question, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Senator Nowak, was the Civil Rights Congress, to your knowledge, formed in April 1947, April 27, 1947, by merging the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties?

Mr. CROCKETT. I think the Civil Rights Congress is in this book, isn't it?

Mr. WOOD. The question is directed to the witness.

Mr. CROCKETT. But I have the right to advise him.

Mr. WOOD. You have the book before you.

Mr. CROCKETT. That is why I am advising him, it is in the book.

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer that question on the constitutional grounds, on the fifth amendment, for the reason that I have stated a number of times.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the resolution committee of that congress?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reason that I mentioned before, on the same grounds as provided in the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer in evidence a photostatic copy of membership of the resolution committee of the Congress on Civil Rights, April 27, 1946, on which the name of Stanley Nowak appears as American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Mr. WOOD. Let it be admitted.

Mr. TAVENNER. And ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 5."

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 5" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photostatic copy of a letterhead of the Civil Rights Congress, dated October 19, 1948. Will you examine it, please, and state whether or not your name appears thereon as one of the national vice chairmen?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the photostatic copy of the letterhead in evidence and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 6."

Mr. WOOD. Let it be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 6" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I now show you a letterhead of the Civil Rights Congress, dated March 31, 1949, and ask you whose name appears thereon as the national executive secretary?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer this question for the same reason and on the same constitutional grounds as provided in the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you look at the photostatic copy, please, and state the name—state what is shown there to be the name of the national executive secretary?

Mr. NOWAK. You want me to read the whole statement?

Mr. TAVENNER. No; just read the name of the national executive secretary. That would be all necessary.

Mr. NOWAK. I see the name of Stanley Nowak.

Mr. TAVENNER. As national executive secretary?

Mr. NOWAK. No, no. It only says national vice chairman and has a list of names.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. My question is, Who is shown there to be the national executive secretary?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then I shall read it to you.

Mr. NOWAK. My attorney advises me that I see the name of William L. Patterson on the stationery.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is this the same William L. Patterson who was an official of the International Labor Defense for years?

Mr. CROCKETT. Is the International Labor Defense listed?

Mr. WALTER. It is listed.

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reason given before, on the same constitutional grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is he the same William L. Patterson who was formerly the director of the Abraham Lincoln School, Mr. Nowak?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is this the same person who was formerly a functionary of the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reason, and on the same constitutional grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the photostatic copy in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 7."

Mr. WOOD. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 7," and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether or not the Civil Rights Congress defended Gerhart Eisler?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reason, and on the same constitutional grounds, as stipulated in the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know any of the facts with regard to the furnishing of a bail bond for Eisler by the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reason, and on the same constitutional grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you participate in a Michigan State conference of the Civil Rights Congress held at 2705 Joy Road, Detroit, on April 1 and 2, 1949?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer for the same reason and on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENER. I desire to offer in evidence a Call to Michigan State Conference of the Civil Rights Congress, in the form of a pamphlet, bearing date of April 1 and 2, 1949, and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 8."

Mr. Wood. Let it be received.

(The document above referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 8," and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee is informed there was a meeting of the Civil Rights Congress in Detroit on November 17, 1947, at which Jack Raskin, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, and Helen Allison, organizational secretary of the Communist Party of Michigan, were present. Do you have any knowledge of the presence of either or both of those individuals at that meeting?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reason and on the same constitutional grounds I mentioned before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it not a fact that the meeting of the Civil Rights Congress was held in Detroit on November 17, 1947, for the purpose of raising a bail fund of 50 to 75 thousand dollars in the State of Michigan?

Mr. NOWAK. I presume it isn't a crime to raise a bail?

Mr. TAVENNER. Not at all, sir.

Mr. NOWAK. But—

Mr. TAVENNER. But still, you may answer.

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reason and on the same constitutional grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you this: Have you ever participated in a plan to raise bail for any member of the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reason and same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you suggest at any meeting of the Civil Rights Congress that the treasury of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born might be used for this purpose?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reason and on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does the International Workers' Order have any connection, official or otherwise, with the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does it in any manner advocate a Communist form of government in the United States?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reason, on the same constitutional grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to read from a pamphlet published by the International Workers' Order, entitled "Why Every Worker Should Join the International Workers' Order." On page 10 is found this language:

The International Workers' Order holds to the view that a system of society similar to the one in the Soviet Union should and can be established also in the United States and in all capitalist countries.

Are you acquainted with that view of the International Workers' Order?

Mr. NOWAK. May I know the date of that document?

Mr. TAVENNER. July 1932.

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reason, on the same constitutional grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to read from another pamphlet issued by the International Workers' Order, entitled "A New Worker's Stronghold." Between pages 9 and 12 appear the following:

The International Workers' Order assumes the point of view of the class struggle. It realizes that present day society is divided into two classes. The two major classes of our times are the capitalists and the workers. The International Workers' Order maintains that capitalism is bankrupt. The order realizes that in order to save itself in the present precarious situation, each capitalist state is attempting to exploit the workers ever more and to oppress them with great brutality. * * *

The International Workers' Order realizes that only under a system similar to the Soviet system there is no exploitation of the working class and only there can it advance to real freedom and happiness. The International Workers' Order therefore appeals to the workers to join the struggle against capitalism and for a system where all power belongs to the working class.

I quote again:

The International Workers' Order realizes that the only party that leads the working class in its struggle against capitalism is the Communist Party which unites the best and proven militant members of the working class and which is bound to become ever stronger until the moment will come when the workers under its leadership will overthrow the capitalist system and establish Soviets.

It follows therefore that the International Workers' Order is part of the battle front of the working class. We find that the Communist Party is the only party that fights for the workers' interest. We therefore endorse the Communist Party. We appeal to all workers to vote for the Communist Party. We aid the party in its struggles.

Now, were you the vice president of the International Workers' Order for the State of Michigan, which advocates those views set forth in its publication?

Mr. NOWAK. What year?

Mr. TAVENNER. 1930?

Mr. NOWAK. The answer is "No," and I decline to answer the question on the same grounds I mentioned before.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did you mean by stating "No"?

Mr. NOWAK. I meant that I decline to answer the question for the reason I have given before, on the same constitutional grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you agree with the statement that I have read, that the International Workers' Order realizes that only under a system similar to the Soviet system there is no exploitation of the working class, and only there can it advance to real freedom and happiness?

Mr. NOWAK. It is a matter of opinion.

Mr. TAVENNER. But, do you—by that, you mean, you advocate that?

Mr. NOWAK. This is a matter of opinion. People have different opinions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that your opinion?

Mr. NOWAK. Are you, at this moment, investigating my opinion? Do you want to know what my opinion is?

Mr. TAVENNER. You have refused to tell us whether you are an official of that organization, and I think it is quite in keeping that we ask to what extent you have advocated the principles enunciated by the organization, when you refuse to tell us about your own connection with it.

Mr. NOWAK. I stated before that I believe in democracy, and the democratic right for people to voice their opinions, and through the democratic processes as provided in our Constitution, to advocate whatever reforms or changes they propose. These are my beliefs, if you want my beliefs. I have no other beliefs.

Mr. Wood. I believe, at this point we will take a recess for an hour and a quarter.

Mr. TAVENNER. May I ask one more question, and I think I will be at a convenient breaking place.

I hand you a publication entitled "In Order," issued by the national executive committee of the International Workers' Order, under date of mid-August 1942, and I will ask you to examine it, particularly, at the right-hand column, the middle paragraph marked by a red check mark on the side, and ask you to state whether or not the International Workers' Order, according to that article, gave you financial aid in your political campaign in 1942?

Mr. NOWAK. May I hear that question stated again?

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe I can state it. Will you examine the article which I have just handed you, in the right-hand column, middle paragraph, checked by red pencil mark, and state whether or not you find there a statement that financial aid was given to you in your campaign for political office in 1942 by the International Workers' Order?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the exhibit in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 9."

Mr. Wood. It may be admitted.

(The document above referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 9," and received in evidence.)

Mr. Wood. We will take a recess until 2:20.

(Whereupon, at 1 p. m., the committee recessed to reconvene at 2:20 o'clock of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. Wood. Let the committee be in order.

Are you ready to proceed?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Senator Nowak, we were talking about the International Workers' Order before lunch. I hand you a photostatic copy of a report of the Sixth National Convention of the International Workers' Order held

in New York City in July, 1941. Will you examine it, please? Were you a speaker at that convention?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the reasons stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 10."

Mr. WOOD. It may be admitted in evidence.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 10" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Referring again to the International Workers' Order, is the Polonia Society a section or part of the International Workers' Order?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same—on the same constitutional grounds that I stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is the publication Glos Ludowy, which I understand means People's Voice to which you referred earlier in—you did not refer to it, excuse me. Is it the official organ of the Polonia Society?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons as stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at one time contribute a weekly column to this publication?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons as stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Henry Podolski formerly editor in chief of Glos Ludowy?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons as stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Henry Podolski was arrested August 13, 1949, by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Did you, on August 15, 1949, post \$5,000 bond for Podolski?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons as stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not Podolski was deported?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons as stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall that the Reverend Charles Hill was temporary chairman of the arrangements committee for what was known as the Second Conference of the National Negro Congress, held in Detroit on March 8 and 9, 1941?

Mr. NOWAK. I am not an informer. It is a responsibility of your committee to investigate, or your investigators.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is true, but were you not a sponsor of the conference yourself?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons as stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer in evidence a photostatic copy of a memorandum on arrangements committee and sponsors of the second conference of the National Negro Congress in Michigan, March 8 and 9, 1941, and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 11."

Mr. WOOD. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 11" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Senator Nowak, I show you a photostatic copy of an article that appeared in the April 6, 1941, issue of the Daily Worker at page 4. It is an account of the meeting of the American Peace Mobilization, and is referred to as the American People's Meeting. According to this article, you were one of the speakers, and are reported, in the article, as saying:

I come to this peace meeting from a battleground. The Ford workers oppose the war in Europe and support the real fight for democracy right here.

Did you speak on that occasion, and were you correctly quoted?

Mr. NOWAK. What year did that occur?

Mr. TAVENNER. 1941, April 6, 1941.

Mr. NOWAK. I do not recollect at this moment either the meeting or what I would say.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, would you look at the article and attempt to refresh your recollection as to what you said?

Mr. NOWAK. Certainly I have a right to speak, and I have a right to voice my opinion. It is the purpose of this question to question one's right to speak and express his opinion?

Mr. TAVENNER. I am asking you if you did express yourself in the way that I read to you from the article. That is the question. It is not a question involved as to the right. I am asking you if you did.

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to have marked as "Nowak Exhibit No. 12" this photostatic copy of the article, and I offer it in evidence.

Mr. Wood. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 12" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. The date of the article was April 6, 1941. That was during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact; was it not?

Mr. NOWAK. I believe that was during the period when the majority of the American people were against war, and the majority of the Republican Congressmen were against war, if I recollect properly.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you answer the question, please?

Mr. NOWAK. It was the period, as I understand, of the so-called neutrality that existed at that moment.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is, the neutrality between what countries?

Mr. NOWAK. The Soviet Union and Germany. It was also the period of our neutrality. We were not part of the war at that time either. We even refused to send ammunition to Spain on the grounds of neutrality.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Spanish War to which you referred was in 1937. I am talking about the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact in 1941. The date of that pact, I believe, was August 23, 1939, so that that meeting held on April 6, 1941, then was during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact.

Now, I would like to call your attention to another document. It is a program of the American Slav Congress, held in Detroit on April 25 and 26, 1942. One page of the program is given to the greetings to the delegates, and I quote from those greetings as follows:

We wish each and every delegate and guest to the American Slav Congress success in this joint undertaking which will contribute to victory over the enemies of our country and of the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

I would like you to examine the document and see if it is not correct that your name appears as one of the signers.

Mr. NOWAK. Counsel, I would like immensely to express my sentiments on the matter that you raise at that time, but because the organization you are mentioning is on the subversive list of the Attorney General, I consider it inadvisable to answer the question, and I must decline to answer on the grounds that—on constitutional grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let us see again if we can separate ourselves from the document which you raise objection to.

Is it not true that in 1942, in April 1942, you did support the joint undertaking in the war effort? In other words, you supported the position of this country?

Mr. NOWAK. That is a matter of public record.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that is true; isn't it?

Mr. NOWAK. Of course.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well now, when did you change your mind about that? Back in 1941, according to the speech I referred to as having been made by you on April 6, 1941, it seemed that you were opposed to the war in Europe.

Mr. NOWAK. I have not changed my mind.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you change your mind?

Mr. NOWAK. I did not change my mind. I have always consistently opposed German imperialism yet in the First War and the Second War, but the situation, the war situation at certain moments was not clear who was what, and that is why the majority of the American people who later on supported the war just as I did—but at that particular moment, the majority of our people were not in favor of the war. Issues were not clear.

Mr. TAVENNER. So the issues did become clear as time progressed? Is that what you mean to say?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, at the beginning then, you had a different position from that which you finally wound up in taking?

Mr. NOWAK. I had the same position that the majority of the American people had. At first they were not ready to go into war, and then they decided that the issues were clear enough and they took sides. My position was no different from the majority of our country.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you change your mind about that?

Mr. NOWAK. That is a matter—how can one tell the time, the day, or the hour when you change your mind? Things were developing.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you support lend-lease to Great Britain?

Mr. NOWAK. If I recollect, the matter of lend-lease to Great Britain was determined by Congress, and I did not serve in Congress. In the legislature we have not—

Mr. TAVENNER. Certainly you could not have misunderstood me in that respect. Did you criticize and oppose lend-lease to England?

Mr. NOWAK. I do not recollect that I have voiced any opinion on that matter at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, what was it that caused you to change your opinion?

Mr. NOWAK. When it became quite clear that the people of France, the people of England, and the American people were going into this war to defeat nazism, that there was no choice in the matter, that

we could not stay apart, away from the war, it gradually grows as the thing developed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the attack by Germany upon Russia in June of 1941 have anything to do with that decision on your part?

Mr. NOWAK. Probably no more than it had to do with the majority of Americans, the majority of our people who became quite clear that Germany is after dominating the world.

Mr. JACKSON. Were you opposed to nazism, Mr. Nowak?

Mr. NOWAK. As a philosophy; yes.

Mr. JACKSON. You were?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you denounce the Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, a pact between two countries, countries that have such opposite point of view—

Mr. JACKSON. Precisely.

Mr. NOWAK. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you denounce it? Did you take the platform in opposing the alliance between two countries with such an opposite point of view, or did you simply go along quietly with this weird marriage of the dictators?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, first of all, I had no voice in the matter. This was not an alliance that our country, my country, was part of. It was an alliance between two foreign countries. What voice do I have, or part in determining that alliance?

Mr. JACKSON. Well, of course, you have had a voice on a number of other things which are not nearly as world moving.

Mr. NOWAK. I had opinions; yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Not nearly as world moving as the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact.

Mr. NOWAK. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. You have approved of certain things, disapproved of certain things, as witnessed by your alleged associations. Did you not, in this great matter in which two separate and very distinctive ways of life were in conflict? You say you opposed nazism?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Well, what was your position when nazism allied itself with the Soviet Union?

Mr. NOWAK. I regretted it.

Mr. JACKSON. You regretted it?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes. I was hoping that an alliance that took place later between Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and America, I was hoping that that alliance would take place in 1938. It would save the world from this catastrophe.

Mr. JACKSON. How did you rationalize this strange alliance between the Soviet Union and the Nazi aggression?

Mr. NOWAK. I don't know whether I have ever rationalized.

Mr. JACKSON. You mean it was difficult for you to understand?

Mr. NOWAK. I didn't even try to rationalize. I felt that it was sort of a necessary evil, I presumed, on the part of these people. I regretted that it happened.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you express that regret in any meetings or any speeches that you made?

Mr. NOWAK. That is difficult to tell now, what I have expressed. I presume I have.

Mr. JACKSON. But you were opposed to nazism?

Mr. NOWAK. I was, and I am.

Mr. JACKSON. Were you equally opposed to communism?

Mr. NOWAK. My answer to the question is: I eternally believe in the American philosophy of democracy.

Mr. JACKSON. But, Mr. Nowak—

Mr. NOWAK. Allow me, Congressman.

Mr. JACKSON. You were very quick to express your enmity for nazism.

Mr. NOWAK. Yes; I am very quick. Allow me and I will explain it. I believe that within that system, whether it is the Socialist or the Communist—have a right to advocate their point of view.

Mr. JACKSON. You believe Fascists have a right to advocate their point of view?

Mr. NOWAK. I have not advocated that we prohibit Fascists from advocating their point of view. I disagree with their philosophy.

Mr. JACKSON. Communists in Los Angeles protested and tried to get an injunction against the appearance of one Gerald L. K. Smith, with whom I thoroughly disagree. Do you think that Mr. Smith has a right to express his opinions or not?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. You do?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. You would not be a party to trying to stifle Mr. Smith from speaking?

Mr. NOWAK. I don't believe so.

Mr. JACKSON. You don't think you would?

Mr. NOWAK. No; as long as he expresses his opinion and that's all. I may sharply disagree with it and expose his opinion.

Mr. JACKSON. But you believe that freedom of speech is all-inclusive, and that anyone who has an opinion should be able to express it? Is that the point you are making?

Mr. NOWAK. Positively.

Mr. Wood. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did you take with regard to the Spanish civil war, if any?

Mr. NOWAK. If I recollect now what my thinking was at that time, at first it was rebellion against the legitimate constituted Government elected by the people, a violent rebellion, and I disapprove of violence: that the Loyal Government, as they called the Loyalists, was elected in a democratic way to the best of my information, and in many ways it resembled our own Civil War when the South rebelled against Abraham Lincoln when he was alive, and for that reason my sympathies were on the side of legitimate Government elected through democratic processes, and against people who organized armies and through a rebellion, violence, and organized force tried to overthrow the will of the Spanish people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you active in any way in the recruiting of persons for service in the civil war in Spain?

Mr. NOWAK. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer into evidence a program of the American Slav Congress held on April 25, 1942, and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 13."

Mr. WOOD. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 13." and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you now a photostatic copy of page 5 of the Daily Worker of February 21, 1942. On that page is an article about a letter addressed to the House of Representatives by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties urging the discontinuance of the special committee to investigate un-American activities. Now, I am in no way questioning your right to take that position or your advocacy of that position. But your name appears as one of the signers. I would like for you to tell the committee the circumstances, if you will, under which that letter was prepared, and how your signature to it was obtained, if it was.

Mr. CROCKETT. Mr. Chairman, may the record show that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties has been labeled subversive by this committee.

Mr. WOOD. Yes, sir.

Mr. CROCKETT. And by the Attorney General.

Mr. WOOD. It will so show.

Mr. JACKSON. May the entire citation, Mr. Chairman, and the reasons therefor be included in the record at this point?

[Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, May 14, 1951, pp. 83 and 84]

NATIONAL FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES

1. Cited as subversive and Communist. (*Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.*)

2. "Part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program. * * * [It] was established as a result of a conference on constitutional liberties held in Washington, D. C., June 7-9, 1940. * * * The defense of Communist leaders such as Sam Darcy and Robert Wood, party secretaries for Pennsylvania and Oklahoma, have been major efforts of the federation." (*Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687.*)

3. "There can be no reasonable doubt about the fact that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—regardless of its high-sounding name—is one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party." (*Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 50; also cited in Reports, June 25, 1942, p. 20; and January 2, 1943, pp. 9 and 12.*)

4. Among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law." (*Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 3.*)

5. "One of the most important Communist-front organizations in the United States. While following the Communist Party line meticulously the organization has been helpful to Communists who wish to evade and defy Government agencies investigating subversive activities." It "recently" combined with International Labor Defense and the Metropolitan Interfaith and Interracial Co-ordinating Council of New York to form the Civil Rights Congress. (*California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 201 and 327.*)

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question, standing on my constitutional grounds as provided in the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer photostatic copy of page 5 of the Daily Worker into evidence, and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 14."

Mr. WOOD. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 14" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. On July 11, 1942, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties addressed a letter to the President of the United States, urging that the Attorney General's opinion in the deportation case of Harry Bridges be set aside. Now, in addition to that part of the letter which urges that the opinion be set aside, there is found this language:

It is equally essential that the Attorney General's ill-advised, arbitrary, and unwarranted findings relative to the Cominunist Party be rescinded.

Will you examine the document and state whether or not you were a signer of that letter, and, if so, why you were opposed to the Attorney General's finding with reference to the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the constitutional grounds as mentioned before.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the letter in evidence, photostatic copy of letter, I should say, and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 15."

Mr. WOOD. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 15" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photostatic copy of a leaflet issued by the Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder. This leaflet reflects the names of a number of persons who appealed to President Roosevelt for the release of Browder. Your name appears on the list. Will you examine this, please, and state whether or not you authorized the use of your name in connection with that letter, and who solicited your support for the release of Browder, if you did so support it?

Mr. CROCKETT. I should like to state for the record, Mr. Chairman, that the Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder is also included among the organizations labeled as subversive by the Attorney General and by this House committee.

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons as given before.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the photostatic copy of the leaflet in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 16."

Mr. WOOD. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 16" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photostatic copy of a folder issued by the American Council on Soviet Relations, dated in June or July 1942. It is an open letter to the President of the United States advocating an immediate declaration of war on Finland. Your name appears as one of the signers.

Now, you have stated you have made various speeches in behalf of peace. You have been very vocal on that subject. Now, I would like to ask you whether or not you advocated a declaration of war by the United States on Finland as indicated in that document?

Mr. NOWAK. Finland was on the side of Germany and against us. Finland was in correlation with the Nazi Germany; isn't that so?

Mr. WOOD. Just answer the question that is asked you, please. You were asked if you advocated a declaration of war by the American Government against Finland. Did you?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the constitutional grounds—

Mr. CROCKETT. May the record show, Mr. Chairman, that the American Council on Soviet Relations has also been listed as subversive by this committee, the Attorney General, and the California Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. WOOD. But it doesn't show that Finland was subversive.

Mr. CROCKETT. The question had to do with the publication of the—

Mr. WOOD. No; the question asked whether he advocated a declaration of war by the American Government against Finland.

Mr. NOWAK. The question, as I understand it, was in relation to a document put out—

Mr. WOOD. And he declined to answer it.

Mr. NOWAK. By the Soviet American—

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, if there is anything in your mind, any question, about your understanding of what I asked, I will make it plain:

Did you advocate a declaration of war by the United States on Finland?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the constitutional grounds I stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 17."

Mr. WOOD. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 17" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photostatic copy of page 40 of the New York Times of December 22, 1943. It is a declaration by the Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee honoring the name of George Dimitrov. Your name appears as one of the signers of the declaration. Will you tell this committee whether or not you authorized your name to be signed to it, and if so, who solicited your support of this declaration?

Mr. NOWAK. May I inquire whether this organization is listed on the Attorney General's list?

Mr. TAVENNER. If you have the book before you, you had better go by the book rather than what I say.

Mr. NOWAK. On the advice of my attorney, I decline to answer, relying on the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 18."

Mr. WOOD. It may be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 18" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photostatic copy of page 12 of the New York Times of October 9, 1949. On that page appears an open letter to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey by the Schappes Defense Committee, appealing for a pardon for Morris U. Schappes. Your name appears as one of the signers. Will you tell the committee, if you signed it, who solicited your support for this plea for pardon?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer this question for the same reasons as stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 19."

Mr. WOOD. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Novak Exhibit No. 19" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you photostatic copy of page 19 of the Sunday Worker of April 27, 1947. It is a list of names of those who sent May Day greetings to the Daily Worker. The name of Stanley Nowak appears in the list. Did you send May Day greetings to the Daily Worker in 1947?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons as stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 20."

Mr. Wood. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 20" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photostatic copy, page 8 of the Daily Worker of July 15, 1947. On that page is an article regarding opposition to the Callahan Act, an anti-Communist act of the Michigan Legislature. This article mentions the Committee to Repeal the Callahan Act, and you are listed as a member of that committee. Were you affiliated with the Committee to Repeal the Callahan Act?

Mr. NOWAK. I opposed the Callahan Act on the floor of the Michigan Senate. I opposed it in public meetings. That is a matter of record. I want to say that the attorney general of the State of Michigan later ruled that the act was unconstitutional.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Were you a member of the committee to which I referred?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question. I have stated my position on the Callahan Act, and whether I was a member or not, it is not important, and on my constitutional grounds, I decline to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well now, it may be important. You may be wrong about that. I would like to know to what extent the Communist Party was represented on that committee, if at all, the Committee to Repeal the Callahan Act. Will you advise the committee about that, regardless of how you may feel as to its importance or unimportance?

Mr. NOWAK. I mentioned before: I am not a professional informer. I will not serve in that capacity for this committee or any committee, and I rely upon my constitutional grounds and I decline to answer the question, as provided in the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 21."

Mr. Wood. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 21" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photostatic copy of page 6 of the Daily Worker of February 20, 1948. It contains an article by William Allan, date line Detroit, February 19, regarding the arrest of Ferdinand Smith. You are listed there as one of those condemning the arrest of Ferdinand Smith. Did you condemn the arrest of Ferdinand Smith, and, if so, who solicited your participation in that activity?

Mr. NOWAK. I have a right to have an opinion on that matter, and I expressed that opinion.

Mr. TAVENNER. No one challenges that. We want to know the extent, if any, which the Communist Party influenced you in that action, or participated in it?

Mr. NOWAK. May I make this point, Mr. Counsel and members of the committee—

Mr. TAVENNER. Just answer the question.

Mr. NOWAK. Yes, I am answering the question. I am answering in my own way: that I do my own thinking, believe it or not! I do my own thinking, and I don't like this inference somebody influenced me, somebody maneuvered to get me to do it! Nobody maneuvered me.

Mr. WOOD. By that, do you mean you were not influenced in that act by the Communist Party or any member of it at all? Is that what you mean or are trying to say?

Mr. NOWAK. Ferdinand Smith, I am informed and I recollect now was on a hunger strike for 40 days for the right to have a bail, to go out on bail. There were thousands of people, particularly in organized labor movement had all the sympathies for him, and I had my sympathies because I believe that everybody has a right to a bail with the exception, of course, of a murderer.

Mr. WOOD. You know that that isn't responsive to the question that I asked you. Why don't you answer the question? Were you influenced in your action in that regard in any particular by the Communist Party or any member of it?

Mr. NOWAK. Do I have to be influenced by someone?

Mr. WOOD. I am asking you if you were. I am asking you if you were so influenced.

Mr. NOWAK. I believe I stated that neither the Communist Party nor anyone else has any particular way of impressing me or influencing me. I use my own opinion. When facts are presented to me and the facts looks reasonable, I accept them and I do my own reasoning.

Mr. WOOD. Then do you say that the Communist Party or no member of the Communist Party exercised or sought to exercise any influence over you in that regard?

Mr. NOWAK. I don't permit anybody to exercise influence.

Mr. WOOD. That isn't what I asked you at all. The question is whether they did, and I would like to have an answer, a direct answer.

Mr. NOWAK. I don't remember at this moment whether somebody came and spoke to me about it. Maybe they did. I don't recollect it. But the fact that somebody would speak to me, it doesn't mean that I will accept that point of view. There are many people who speak to me and who come to me with all kinds of ideas, particularly when I serve in the legislature.

Mr. JACKSON. You make your own decisions, Mr. Nowak, as far as your opinions are concerned?

Mr. NOWAK. That's right.

Mr. JACKSON. Without influence from any other source?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, that is a question that I doubt whether anybody can say absolutely that you make your own opinion without being influenced by the people you are surrounded by.

Mr. JACKSON. That is precisely the point I am making. Perhaps to clarify the matter: In what regard do you disagree with the Soviet directives or Soviet foreign policy?

Mr. NOWAK. What are the Soviet directives? What is the Soviet policy? Let's be specific.

Mr. JACKSON. Well, we could be.

Mr. NOWAK. I have never seen, to my knowledge, any Soviet directives. How can I express any opinion?

Mr. WALTER. Just read the Daily Worker.

Mr. JACKSON. You get any number of them in the Daily Worker, coming right from the seat of the empire, so to speak. No one could possibly have been connected with as many subversive organizations as you have not to know that fact, Mr. Nowak.

Mr. NOWAK. I have never seen any directives, and it will make no difference to me because I have my own opinion, and I try to use my own intelligence to make my own conclusions regardless who it might be.

Mr. WALTER. It didn't take much influencing to have you follow the Communist Party line throughout the years, did it?

Mr. NOWAK. Would you, Congressman, tell me more specifically what policy, what Communist Party policy are you referring to?

Mr. JACKSON. Could we submit again the documents that the gentleman refused to look at? All of the policies, all of the directives of the Communist Party for the last 25 years are contained largely in these documents. It has been told time and time again before this committee by cooperative witnesses that these organizations were, in large part, directed by members of the Communist Party and that they were in control of the executive boards of these organizations. These are international directives implemented at the local level.

Mr. CROCKETT. Congressman, may I suggest that we read some of those into the record and then we will know what we are talking about.

Mr. JACKSON. I think that every word of these citations should be read into the record.

Mr. CROCKETT. You have one document there on Negro Foreign Born Unity, I think. Why don't we read them into the record? I wouldn't regard that as being Communist, and I am sure you wouldn't.

Mr. JACKSON. Perhaps you wouldn't, but neither would you consider the names of a great many people who have appeared before this committee and who have been identified time and time again as members of the Communist Party to be dangerous to this Nation. These men and women have directed the course of these organizations. I think any American will draw his own conclusions as to whether or not these organizations were directed and controlled by the Communist Party.

Mr. CROCKETT. Have you any evidence at these hearings with respect to any of the persons named on there? No. None of them have been identified. But merely because the committee counsel offered them, this committee accepts it in evidence.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I am not going to argue with counsel. But I should say that out of this one list of several hundred names, we have had scores of them identified as members of the Communist Party. Now, to say that these organizations were not influenced by Communist directives and by Communist membership is certainly to underestimate the native intelligence of the American people.

Mr. CROCKETT. I think, however, that high lights the danger implicit in any witness admitting any knowledge of those documents.

Mr. Wood. Counsel's province, as I have previously indicated, is to advise his client.

Mr. CROCKETT. But the Congressman addressed something to me, and I thought he wanted my views on it, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Wood. The Congressman didn't address anything to you until you addressed him.

Mr. NOWAK. Mr. Chairman, may I just make a brief comment in answer to Congressman Crawford, I believe the name is—

Mr. JACKSON. No; the name is Jackson, of California.

Mr. NOWAK. A good State, California.

As a matter of principle, I speak to people with all points of view because I always want to know the facts. In my legislative work, I spend many many hours, many years for that matter, working day in and day out with the Republicans—

Mr. WOOD. Spare us a lecture on the subject.

Mr. NOWAK. Yes, but why, since emphasis was made that I have been associated with certain names that this committee—

Mr. WOOD. Well, you refused to deny it when you had an opportunity to do it.

Mr. NOWAK. I am not denying anything. These were general comments made by the Congressman.

Mr. WOOD. I say you have declined to deny it or to admit it on grounds of the fifth amendment, haven't you?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes, sir. But why isn't the Congressman asking me for the association with my Republican colleagues with whom I have worked?

Mr. WOOD. You can't truthfully invoke the fifth amendment, meaning a refusal to answer the question under oath, and then say to answer the question wouldn't do what you just said it would do.

Mr. NOWAK. I don't know what you are talking about.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Nowak, you associate with all kinds of people from all walks of life. So do I.

Mr. NOWAK. That's right.

Mr. JACKSON. My interest is to make Republicans out of them. I am concerned with what your interest is.

(A burst of applause from the audience.)

Mr. NOWAK. I will answer that, Mr. Congressman. My interest is to make good Americans, and not Republicans necessarily.

Mr. JACKSON. I am delighted to hear that. The record doesn't reflect it.

Mr. WOOD. I am sorry this outburst occurred. I hope there are people in the audience who were here last week when it occurred before, at which time I cautioned you very positively that this committee will not tolerate it. If it happens again, I am going to clear the hearing room immediately.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I apologize for my part in it.

Mr. POTTER. Mr. Nowak, now that politics has been brought into your discussion and you have been a candidate for office many times and have served in the State legislature, could you inform the committee on what party you served, and what party ticket you ran on for election?

Mr. NOWAK. I think that is a public record. Anybody—

Mr. POTTER. Well, I am not as familiar with the politics in Detroit as probably you are.

Mr. NOWAK. I believe that it is public record. Everybody knows that I was elected and served on the Democratic ticket; that I was, for two terms, chairman of the Democratic delegation in the senate, the entire Democratic delegation in the senate. I was elected for 5 successive terms on the Democratic ticket, and you, Mr. Potter, know it. You

are a Republican and I am a Democrat. We have certain things in common.

Mr. POTTER. Have you ever run for office on any other ticket?

Mr. NOWAK. A nonpartisan election ticket. That's the only other ticket that I ever ran for office on.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Nowak, when you so ran and you were so elected, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWAK. I refuse to answer the question on my constitutional grounds for the reasons that we have stated here at least 20 times before.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document which I presented to the witness into evidence and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 22."

Mr. WOOD. It may be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 22" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photostatic copy of the news letter issued by the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill. You are listed as one of the sponsors of this organization. Will you tell the committee the circumstances under which you assisted, or your signature was obtained?

Mr. NOWAK. I believe that anybody has a right to oppose legislation, that this is our democratic right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Unquestionably. I have made that plain from the beginning. We draw no inference from the fact that a person expresses his opinion regarding legislation. But what I am interested in is the manner in which your assistance in that matter was obtained, if it was.

Mr. NOWAK. If it is correct to oppose legislation or to voice an opinion, what does it matter how someone's support was gotten for it? I have stated before——

Mr. TAVENNER. Who solicited your support?

Mr. NOWAK. I don't recollect.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who organized the effort made to oppose that legislation in this area, in the city of Detroit?

Mr. NOWAK. I do not remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document into evidence and ask it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 23."

Mr. WOOD. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 23" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photostatic copy of page 3 and also of page 6 of the Sunday Worker of October 30, 1949. On page 3 is an article regarding the verdict rendered against 11 Communist Party leaders in New York City, followed by a list of persons protesting the verdict. Your name appears on the list of those protesting the verdict. Will you tell the committee how your support of that action was obtained, if you did protest the verdict?

Mr. NOWAK. First, there was an official decision from the United States Supreme Court on the matter. There was a majority and minority opinion, and I do have the same opinion that was expressed by the minority of the Supreme Court, by Justice Jackson and Justice Black. That is for the matter of information.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now will you answer my question?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the constitutional grounds as provided in the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photostatic copy of page 5 of the Daily Worker of August 10, 1950. There is an article to be found there in reference to an open letter to President Truman, released by the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, expressing concern about an announcement that the Department of Justice will seek the denaturalization of more than 1,000 American citizens. Your name appears as one of those signing that letter.

Mr. NOWAK. Certainly I am concerned about any legislation or any move that aims to take away citizenship, and I have definite opinions on it, and therefore I expressed those opinions, and I don't consider that to be any violation of any law or our Constitution. I consider that my prerogative.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you opposed to the denaturalization of citizens under any and all circumstances?

Mr. NOWAK. I didn't say that.

Mr. TAVENNER. No; but I am asking you.

Mr. NOWAK. I would disagree with the mass movement of revoking citizenship in general.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you think that citizenship should be revoked for fraud in obtaining citizenship?

Mr. NOWAK. That is a very ticklish legal question. I am not an attorney. I will leave it to the lawyers to determine that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your opinion?

Mr. NOWAK. A question like this is determined according to laws. If the individual violated laws, the judges, the courts will decide that.

Mr. TAVENNER. If the naturalization was obtained through fraud, would you oppose deportation? I don't mean deportation, I mean denaturalization.

Mr. NOWAK. It is a supposition. I cannot answer, give a specific answer to a hypothetical case. Certainly an attorney shouldn't ask me to give a specific answer to a hypothetical case.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let us make it more specific.

Mr. NOWAK. I may say that I am opposed to any fraud, if that is what you are anxious to know.

Mr. TAVENNER. If a fraudulent representation were made to obtain citizenship, you believe it should be denaturalized?

Mr. NOWAK. I stated that. My attorney informs me that is exactly what the law says.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 24."

Mr. WOOD. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 24" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photostatic copy of page 2 of the Daily Worker of May 3, 1951. In the lower left-hand corner is an article about the May Day rally in Cleveland. According to this article you made a speech, and you are reported as demanding a cease-fire in Korea. Were you correctly reported?

Mr. NOWAK. I can voice my opinion on the matter.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you correctly reported?

Mr. NOWAK. I would have to study this thing.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, there it is before you. Look at it, please.

Mr. NOWAK. Well, may I ask this: Does the committee want my opinion on the matter, or you just want to know whether I was correctly reported in the press?

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to know what you said about it. Will you answer the question, please?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the reasons stated before, basing it on my constitutional rights as provided in the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a meeting of the Emergency Conference for Constitutional Rights, in Detroit in June 1951, when a resolution was adopted to ask President Truman and Chief Justice Vinson to grant a rehearing to the 11 convicted Communist Party leaders?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer for the reasons stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to present to you a document which is a photostatic copy of page 5 of the Daily Worker for June 20, 1951, making reference to and setting forth the resolution mentioned, and I ask that it be introduced in evidence and marked "Exhibit No. 25."

Mr. WOOD. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 25" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Carl Winter one of the speakers at that meeting?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer for the reasons stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Nowak, have you been out of the United States since your naturalization?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer that question for the reasons stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Didn't you apply for a passport to go to Poland, and in the passport state that it was at the request of the Polish Government?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the reasons stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of a passport application, bearing date the 19th day of October 1945, and ask you to examine page 2 and state what the purpose was as shown in that application for your proposed visit to Poland. That is, what reason did you give and did you sign for your visit to Poland?

Mr. NOWAK. Do you want me to read what is in here?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. NOWAK. Just to read what is in there?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir. Read, please.

Mr. NOWAK. In fact, I wonder why I must read. Why can't you read it in the record?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you read it?

Mr. NOWAK. I am sure that the counsel can read just as well as I.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you answer the question?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. You decline to read what it says?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then I will read it.

Mr. NOWAK. Fine.

Mr. TAVENNER. The application for passport states:

I intend to visit the following countries for the purposes indicated: France and Poland, perhaps England, visiting on special invitation of Polish Government.

Now, did you make that answer and swear to it on the 19th day of October 1945?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Before the deputy clerk?

Mr. NOWAK. Based on my constitutional rights as provided in the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Before the deputy clerk of the Federal court of Detroit, Mich.

Is that your photograph or picture on the passport in your application?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons as I have stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the photostatic copy of the application for passport in evidence and have it marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 26."

Mr. WOOD. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 26" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you go to Poland in the fall of 1945 and return in January 1946?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons as stated before, for the constitutional reasons as provided in the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Henry Podolski, Vincent Klein, Thaddeus Kantor, and Anthony—now, I will have to spell the last name—K-a-r-c-z-y-m-a-r-z-y-k accompany you in traveling to and from Poland?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the same grounds and for the same reasons as I mentioned before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who extended you the invitation to come to Poland?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons on the same grounds as stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you speak at a meeting sponsored by any organization at the hall in Philadelphia known as the Karzynaski Hall on February 25, 1951?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons and on the same grounds. I have a right to speak and I see no reason why I should be questioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at the time an agent for any government other than the United States, for any foreign government at the time you made that speech?

Mr. NOWAK. I am not an agent and never have been for any foreign government.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, have you during the year 1951 represented any foreign government in the promulgation of information, propaganda in this country?

Mr. NOWAK. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you explain your answer, please?

Mr. NOWAK. My answer is: Not to my knowledge, not that I know of.
Mr. TAVENNER. Well, let me see if I can help you.

Mr. WALTER. You mean to say that you don't know whether or not you have received compensation from any foreign government?

Mr. NOWAK. I didn't say that. What I don't know is what the attorney has in mind when he speaks of foreign propaganda. The question, as it was worded, was a very confusing one, and to be honest and accurate, that is the best I could answer to a very involved and complicated question.

Mr. WALTER. What is the question that you say was so involved?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, if we were to ask—

Mr. WALTER. Are you a representative of a foreign government?

Mr. NOWAK. My answer was quite clear.

Mr. CROCKETT. That was not the question. He answered that question, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. NOWAK. I answered that question very definitely.

Mr. WALTER. Let us see if we can get at it a little plainer: During the year 1951, did you receive any compensation from any foreign government or any person representing any foreign government?

Mr. NOWAK. My answer is definitely "No."

Mr. TAVENNER. In making speeches over the country at Philadelphia, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, and other places, were you representing in any way a foreign power in making the talks that you made?

Mr. NOWAK. I never represented a foreign power in any capacity at any meeting at any time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you represent then a foreign power in any manner in the distribution of information or propaganda?

Mr. NOWAK. I think I gave a very definite answer to that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was it?

Mr. NOWAK. At no time did I willingly, knowingly represent in any capacity any foreign power. I think it is a clear definite answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was the arrangement made for your appearance with members of the Polish consularship either in New York or in other places in public appearances in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Buffalo, or other places?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer that question on my constitutional grounds for the following reason: There is nothing established in the record yet and I would have to establish that in the record that I appeared at any meetings, so I decline to answer that question on my constitutional grounds.

Mr. WALTER. Now, I understand you to say that your only source of income has been from the fees that you have received for making speeches; is that correct?

Mr. NOWAK. As regards my own income, that is correct.

Mr. WALTER. Who has been paying you for making these speeches?

Mr. NOWAK. Usually the organization that wants me to speak.

Mr. WALTER. What organizations have paid you? Let us just take the last year.

Mr. NOWAK. Specifically they were groups working for peace who were interested in me speaking on peace.

Mr. WALTER. What were the names of these organizations?

Mr. NOWAK. Just one second—and among them particularly the Polish groups who are very much alarmed over the rearmament of Germany, because they see at this moment an attack upon their people

in Poland, and they asked me to speak on it, knowing that I have made some study of the subject, knowing that I know quite a bit about it.

Your specific question is: Who were the people? You want names. Well, gentlemen, I have made that point clear before. I am not an informer, and I will rely on my constitutional grounds.

Mr. WALTER. You are not informing on anybody if you tell us where you spoke and under what auspices.

Mr. NOWAK. Well, from the remarks of your counsel, apparently your committee knows quite well where I spoke.

Mr. WALTER. I am asking you now. Let us take the city of Philadelphia, for example. Under whose auspices did you speak in Philadelphia?

Mr. NOWAK. I recall some peace group. Specific names, I do not recall at this moment.

Mr. WALTER. What was your compensation for that appearance?

Mr. NOWAK. It varies, from \$25 to \$50 a meeting. It varies.

Mr. WALTER. How many meetings did you address last year?

Mr. NOWAK. I don't recollect. I addressed a good many of them.

Mr. WALTER. Twenty?

Mr. NOWAK. Probably quite a bit more. I don't recollect the exact number at this time. I speak very often.

Mr. WALTER. Well, the fact of the matter is you were being compensated by the representatives of the present Communist Polish Government, weren't you?

Mr. NOWAK. That is not true. I absolutely deny and resent that implication.

Mr. JACKSON. You have had no contact with the representatives of the present Polish Government?

Mr. NOWAK. What do you mean by contact?

Mr. JACKSON. Have you had contact?

Mr. NOWAK. What do you mean by contact?

Mr. JACKSON. Have you visited with any members of the present Polish regime in a diplomatic or consular position either here or elsewhere in the United States?

Mr. NOWAK. May I answer the question?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, please do.

Mr. NOWAK. Sure. As the committee knows well, I am of Polish origin. Everybody in this community knows that. I am quite active among the Americans of Polish descent, and they are quite interested in the relatives back in Poland. I am invited to affairs where people speak, including consular and diplomatic representatives of Poland. After all, that country is recognized by our Government, and has diplomatic representatives here.

Mr. JACKSON. Let us not make an issue of it. I simply asked you if you had conferred with the consular representatives either here or elsewhere. I mean I am not asking for a speech on the subject. I am simply asking if you have so conferred with consular representatives.

Mr. NOWAK. Yes, but that word, "conferred," I presume—

Mr. JACKSON. Let us take the onus off. Have you discussed Polish matters with them, or the welfare of Poles, or anything of that sort?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes. I would inquire about some information in Poland, sure. If the individual or a representative of another country

comes here and speaks on the subject, and if I am interested, certainly I would inquire about conditions in the country he represented.

Mr. JACKSON. That is all I wanted to know, Mr. Nowak, whether that was the case.

Have you also interested yourself in organizations of Polish citizens who are very much opposed to the present regime in Poland? Have you spoken before those groups which seek the overthrow of the Communists in Poland?

Mr. NOWAK. If they ask me, I would.

Mr. JACKSON. Have they asked you?

Mr. NOWAK. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. JACKSON. They haven't asked you?

Mr. NOWAK. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you disseminated pamphlets or any literature or material of any kind at the request of the present regime in Poland?

Mr. NOWAK. It is a very involved question. What do you mean by "regime"?

Mr. TAVENNER. By the present government in Poland.

Mr. NOWAK. For the matter of record, I was never asked to distribute any materials.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you receive any from the Polish Government or any representative of the Polish Government in this country such as the consulate here or other places?

Mr. NOWAK. I received in the mail all kinds of information from many countries.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes?

Mr. NOWAK. And many people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; but would you answer my question?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes; I received official publications of the Polish Embassy. I received it in the mail.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you received it for distribution to other persons?

Mr. NOWAK. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Not to your knowledge?

Mr. NOWAK. Not to my recollection, no. I receive a copy once a month, or I believe now they discontinued, they just publish a magazine once a month and I used to get a copy of it. They mailed it to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you take an active part in the distribution of it?

Mr. NOWAK. It is only one copy that I get.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand, but of other copies?

Mr. NOWAK. I only received one copy, and I usually kept it for my own use.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever taken an active part in the distribution of information of that character which you receive from the Polish Government through its Embassy or through its consularships?

Mr. NOWAK. If someone would ask me if I have any information on certain aspects of life in Poland and I happen to have a publication or a book or a magazine or a paper, I certainly would give it to them.

Mr. TAVENNER. That isn't my question.

Mr. NOWAK. Well, that is the extent of my activities.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is the full extent of your activity in that respect?

Mr. NOWAK. That is, to the best of my recollections. I do not recollect engaging in any mass distribution.

Mr. TAVENNER. Or have you engaged in the showing of propaganda films from Poland?

Mr. NOWAK. There is a—well, the question the attorney asked: What is a propaganda film? But besides that point, may I inform you, counsel, that there is a private company which brings in foreign films from many countries, France, England, Russia, Poland, many Italian films, and I have gotten films from them, Polish films, sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. From what company have you obtained the Polish films?

Mr. NOWAK. They are located in New York. At this moment—Amkino or something.

• Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell it, please?

Mr. NOWAK. Frankly, I don't know how you do spell it. I am not too sure of the name. I don't consider these films propaganda films, incidentally.

Mr. JACKSON. What do you do with them after you finish showing them, Mr. Nowak?

Mr. NOWAK. Return them.

Mr. JACKSON. To this firm?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes; because you rent them for showing.

Mr. JACKSON. Well, then, the committee can assume that you can find out the name of the firm.

Mr. NOWAK. Oh yes.

Mr. JACKSON. And would you furnish that to the committee through your counsel?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you look in the Guide to Subversive Organizations and see if you see that name that you referred to?

Mr. JACKSON. Is this the picture firm?

Mr. POTTER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. I withdraw my request then. There is probably no necessity for duplicating the information.

Mr. NOWAK. I do not find the name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that a Polish or a Russian corporation or concern?

Mr. NOWAK. To my knowledge it is an American business firm.

Mr. WALTER. Did any of these films show the concentration camps that the American Federation of Labor found to be located all over Poland and Russia?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, first, I have never heard that there was a film based on concentration camps in Russia. Looking through the catalog of this company, I am speaking about who has foreign films, I do not remember ever seeing a film like that.

Mr. JACKSON. It would be very unlikely. If they had a film of a concentration camp, it would disabuse the minds of a lot of people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you speak at Pittsburgh as one of the places that you referred to?

Mr. NOWAK. I mentioned before I speak in many places throughout the country at different times.

Mr. WOOD. He asked you if one of them was Pittsburgh.

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the specific question on this matter for the reasons I have stated before.

Mr. WALTER. It is no crime to speak in Pittsburgh.

Mr. NOWAK. No; no crime to speak in Pittsburgh. I hope it is no crime. That is why I wonder why these questions: Did I speak in Pittsburgh.

Mr. WALTER. I assure you there is no crime, or I would be a very hardened criminal by this time.

Mr. TAVENNER. You wanted to know why I asked you that question, and I will tell you.

Mr. NOWAK. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you, in Pittsburgh in the course of the speech, make a statement that you urge the withdrawal of American troops from Korea?

Mr. NOWAK. If I would answer definitely this question, then, of course, I would have to proceed then and tell you all about the meeting in Pittsburgh. Therefore I decline to answer the questions for reasons stated before, but I will voice my opinion on the subject if you like.

Mr. TAVENNER. No. I want to know whether you made that statement in a public address.

Mr. NOWAK. I can make a statement on that matter here before this entire committee, not only in a public address.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you make it in a public address in Pittsburgh on April 27, 1951?

Mr. NOWAK. It is quite likely that I made that statement at many meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you also suggest at the meeting that Congressmen be flooded with messages to withdraw American troops from Korea?

Mr. NOWAK. Certainly that is not a criminal act.

Mr. TAVENNER. No, but did you do it? You will not plead the fifth amendment if it is not a criminal act, so will you answer?

Mr. NOWAK. You are again referring to a specific meeting?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. NOWAK. And then once I answer the question, then I will have to tell you all about the people who were at the meeting.

Mr. WALTER. Why not, if you are not ashamed of the company you were keeping?

Mr. NOWAK. No, I am not ashamed of the company I was keeping.

Mr. WALTER. Then why don't you tell us who they were?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes, but I am not an informer, and I will never be an informer.

Mr. WALTER. You have said that before.

Mr. NOWAK. That's right. It seems like I have to constantly remind you, refresh the memory of the committee.

Mr. WALTER. We understand that, but it seems to be ridiculous. That is why we get up to the point so often.

Mr. NOWAK. It is a matter of opinion, Congressman.

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. My question was: Did you suggest that the Congressmen be flooded with messages to withdraw American troops from Korea?

Mr. NOWAK. I believe I have expressed my opinion on it and given a satisfactory explanation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you or not?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on my constitutional grounds as I stated before.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will stand in recess for 10 minutes.

(A recess was taken.)

Mr. WOOD. Let us have order, please.

Mr. TAVENNER. Senator Nowak, did you speak at a meeting of the Polonia Society in Buffalo, N. Y., on March 31 or April 1, 1951?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons and on the same constitutional grounds that I declined to answer previous questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Senator Nowak, I show you a document entitled, "The Proletarian Party, Its Principles and Practices," and ask you if you have seen this or a similar document before.

Mr. NOWAK. May I know the date on it?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine it, please? I am not certain whether the date appears on it or not.

Mr. NOWAK. I do not see any date on it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, regardless of the date, have you ever seen it or a similar document before?

Mr. CROCKETT. Mr. Chairman, can the record show at this point that the Proletarian Party of America is listed among the organizations labeled subversive by this committee and by the Attorney General—no, I beg your pardon, not by this committee, but by the Attorney General and by the Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. JACKSON. Does this document purport to show association between the witness and the Proletarian Association?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir. I don't think his name is mentioned in this document.

Mr. JACKSON. I request permission to withdraw my question in that regard.

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer that question for the same reasons and on the same grounds as I stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to introduce the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit 27"

Mr. WOOD. It may be introduced.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 27" and received in evidence.)

NOWAK EXHIBIT NO. 27

THE PROLETARIAN PARTY—ITS PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES

The Proletarian Party of America was organized in June 1920. The group of workers who organized it were the best informed Marxists in America. From its inception the Proletarian Party openly proclaimed itself to be the basic Communist Party of America. Its revolutionary objective was winning the workers to a recognition of the need for establishing a new social order. The proclaimed method was through revolutionary political action for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the setting up of a new form of government through which the working class could wield its political power and exercise its authority over society—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

For the first 18 months of its existence the Proletarian Party stood alone as an open and avowed Communist Party. There were two other proclaimed Com-

unist Parties which were "underground," functioning "secretly." These two romantic and very confused groups shriveled into small internecine warring sects and were ultimately liquidated as secret organizations.

PARTY PRINCIPLES

The basic principles upon which the Proletarian Party was organized and to which it has adhered are substantially as follows: That the present social order—capitalism—has outlived its historic usefulness and that its continuation must of necessity work increasing hardships upon the vast majority of the population of America, the toiling proletarian masses, and that the new society must be inaugurated through the revolutionary action of this class.

The Proletarian Party has held to this basic position, maintaining that it is this class, the wage-working class, and this class alone, which can and must organize for the conquest of power and the abolition of capitalism, and that if other elements in society, such as the small capitalists (urban and rural) rallied to the support of the proletariat in its struggle for political supremacy (and the application thereof through its dictatorship), that such aid should be utilized, but all efforts of the small capitalist elements to use the proletarian movement to prop up their collapsing economic status should be resolutely resisted.

Since the starting point of action for the Proletarian Party is the recognition of the independent and untrammeled political action of the working class as such, no schemes for catching middle-class support or the advocacy of reforms to prolong the present social system have ever characterized its policies and practices.

WORKING-CLASS ACTION

With the recognition of the historic role which the proletariat as a class must play, the Proletarian Party strives to arouse, enlighten, and marshall the proletariat for its revolutionary act of self-emancipation. To that end the Proletarian Party ceaselessly labors in all fields of working-class activity.

THE LABOR UNIONS

The Proletarian Party has consistently cooperated and supported the labor-union movement in the inevitable daily conflicts in which the unions must of necessity engage, but has not subscribed to their political policies or their antiquated organizational forms. Although critical of union shortcomings, it has unstintingly supported these militant mass movements, especially during strikes and other struggles waged against the exploiting class, and has always striven to raise the issue of the larger aspects of the working-class struggle, namely, the complete abolition of the wages system.

UNEMPLOYMENT ORGANIZATIONS

Just as the Proletarian Party has given every possible assistance to the labor unions, it has also, especially since the great depression, given consistent support to the organized bodies of unemployed workers who have found it necessary to struggle for a larger measure of "relief" or to resist the efforts to reduce the starving unemployed to a still lower level of subsistence.

The Proletarian Party has never regarded these bodies of hungry workers as mere masses of unthinking elements to be led into indiscriminate conflict with the state machinery, but has viewed them as genuine organized sections (however temporary) of the working class, whose interests as a whole are the interests of the Proletarian Party. As "flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone," it has not been necessary to talk about "going to the masses," but simply to formulate ways and means of winning larger numbers to an understanding of the ultimate outcome of the conflict between capital and labor.

THE GREAT DIVIDE

America today is divided into two great classes, the vast majority—the workers—receiving their income in wages. The members of the minority class, on the other hand, obtain their income from profit, interest, and rent, sometimes all three. This latter class, perhaps 30 percent of the population, owns income-yielding property of some sort. Within its ranks there are a small number who have vast property holdings, mines, factories, railroads, etc.

The working class not only increases numerically but it also increases in relation to the total population, and consequently there is a relative decrease in the

class which derives its income from the ownership of property. The bulk of the workers are poor and vast and increasing numbers are in abject poverty. Only a small and decreasing number of them are in comfortable circumstances, fewer and fewer own their homes, and ever fewer numbers are secure from the haunting specter of poverty in their declining years.

INNER DIVISIONS

The property owning class is itself divided into different sections having conflicting interests. The division into various economic groups gives rise to constant clashes over political policies, clashes over issues which are for the most part entirely foreign to working-class interests, although millions of workers allow themselves to be involved and get highly excited over issues which are really affairs of the business class, and which, no matter how they are settled, leave the workers just where they were.

There are the conflicts between the industrial capitalists and the financiers, between the individually owned stores and the chain stores, between big business in general and the vast number of small business people. Also in this relation there is the continual struggle between the creditor section and the debtor section of the property owning class.

The workers in general are not creditors because they have nothing to lend and they are not debtors because no one will lend them anything. Therefore, the conflict between debtors and creditors is not a working-class problem. Nevertheless, much of the recent squabbling on America's storm-tossed ship of state is over the debtor-creditor issue. The Republicans, in the main, represent the creditor elements and big business generally, while the Democrats chiefly defend the debtors and champion the cause of the small business people, including the majority of the poorer farmers. But these differences are gradually disappearing and, moreover, it must not be forgotten that when a real working-class issue arises to confront these old parties, their differences in the face of the "common danger" disappear completely. Both are there to protect the business class, the property owners as a whole, and to keep the workers, "the inferior class," in "their place."

PROLETARIAN POLITICAL ACTION

From the social situation described above it naturally follows that if the workers as a class are ever going to be other than "voting cattle" in times of peace, and "cannon fodder" in times of war, for the protection or extension of capitalist property and profits, they will have to take political action on their own behalf.

Millions of workers have already learned to act independently on the economic field. The organized labor movement testifies to this, but only a small number have as yet broken with the political parties of their enemies—the capitalists—who exploit them for profit, and who cast them upon the human scrap heap when they are too worn out for profit making.

INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION

The first step in the direction of independent working-class political action is for the workers to break forever with the Republican and Democratic parties. The second step which we here advise is to join the ranks of the Proletarian Party, membership in which is open to all workers regardless of race, color or nationality.

The Proletarian Party is a dues paying organization, the monthly dues of each member being fifty cents. Exempt stamps are provided for those unemployed and unable to pay, which keep them on a basis of full membership without any cost whatsoever.

The Proletarian Party is aware that it is not the only party claiming to represent the working class. In fact, it is continually being asked, "Why are there so many parties and what are the differences which keep them apart?"

WHERE WE STAND

First of all, the Proletarian Party is not a reform organization. It has no "immediate demands" in its program. It holds that any immediate demands that can be obtained by the workers under capitalism can be procured through the action of the unions and the unemployed organizations.

Legislative reforms will be enacted by the political parties of capitalism only in the interests of capitalism. In the event that a substantial number of workers'

representatives were elected to the legislative bodies (a most desirable advance) they could enact nothing vital without a majority. Even then, if a working-class party did get a majority, no real enactment on behalf of the working class would ever get by the Supreme Court. As for the "immediate demand" to abolish the Supreme Court, we think that a revolution might be nearly as easy and, even if that court was abolished capitalism could still go on, as it does in other countries which have no such court. The Proletarian Party asserts that capitalism is not worth reforming and further asserts that, while it can be tinkered with, capitalism cannot be fundamentally reformed.

On the labor union field the Proletarian Party strives for a change in the structure of the unions to the industrial form as being a more efficient form for effective labor action.

The Proletarian Party does not think that the means of production, the mills, mines, and factories can be taken over and held by the workers without first breaking the political yoke of capitalism and setting up a workers' "state" to prevent counter-revolution.

The Proletarian Party, unlike those parties which have lost faith in the working class, does not think an alliance with the small-business people is imperative. In fact, it holds that any reliance on such support endangers the revolutionary movement of the working class.

The Proletarian Party recognizes the Communist International as the only International worthy of the support of the workers, and, in addition, while critical of its errors, it recognizes the Communist International as the best International which the world's workers have as yet brought forth.

The Soviet Union is not regarded by the Proletarian Party as the land of a new form of capitalism, as claimed by some alleged revolutionary parties. While aware of the fact that communism has not yet been introduced in the U. S. S. R., because such a development requires time and because a hostile capitalist world is forcing the U. S. S. R. to retain armies—which is not compatible with communist society—we see in the U. S. S. R. an advancing form of proletarian state socialism, an economic and political transitional form leading to communism.

On the question of the attitude of the Proletarian Party to the "farming question," we first of all emphatically assert that the farm hand, the wage slave of the farm, is a proletarian, just like the wage worker of the factory. Secondly, we assert that the farmer is a capitalist. Some farmers are quite large exploiters of labor, but most of them are petty capitalists who work hard in order to live. Many of these can and will be won to the support of the proletarian revolution, but it is the contention of the Proletarian Party that the status of the small farmer cannot be raised under capitalism, all promises to the contrary notwithstanding, and even if such were possible it is not the task of the Proletarian Party to save any dying section of the property owning class, but instead it is our duty to urge them to abandon their illusions and throw in their lot with the workers and struggle for the new classless society—the communist society.

The absolute certainty of the overthrow of capitalism and the introduction of a new social order does not alone lie in the poverty and suffering of the masses, nor in the immense wealth of the capitalists. The phenomenon of poverty and wealth is not new.

The basis for the future social order lies within the structure of present-day capitalism, and is in harmony with its very nature. It is social production and the accompanying parasitic character of the present generation of capitalists which assure the victory of the proletariat.

SOCIAL PRODUCTION

But what is social production? It is the modern method of producing commodities through the extensive division of labor, with each worker within the factory doing but a small contributory part of the work. No one makes a hat, a shoe, or a shovel any more. In the modern factory each is a "specialist" who puts in full time, day after day, boring holes or turning nuts on the end of bolts, sewing a seam, polishing a piece, or a piece of a piece of some product. Thousands of men and women work together cooperatively. They turn out the finished product collectively.

That is what is meant by social production, as distinct from individual production when the shoemaker made shoes complete or the hatter made the hats alone from start to finish. But this social production in the individual factory is again connected up with factories preparing the raw materials, or with a power industry, perhaps miles away, which furnishes the motive force to drive the machinery. In the last analysis the factories are interdependent. Therefore,

social production, in the wider sense, includes all modern industry. It is like one big shop consisting of many departments.

Let us illustrate the process. We will consider the production of rubber tires which, like any other present-day product, are produced socially within the individual rubber works. By themselves they would be practically worthless, but they find their complete social setting when attached to an automobile or other such vehicle. The same is true of the gasoline to furnish the power by which these vehicles are driven. Spark plugs and windshield wipers, headlights and tail lights, each in themselves produced socially, find their proper places within the highly social process of modern industrial production.

In the past, when the people produced directly for use, there was no question as to the ownership of the product. And still later, when products were first placed upon the market as commodities they were owned by the small producers, the owners of the primitive means of production. When capitalism arose and expanded, a class of people, owners of the means of production, developed along with this expansion and likewise another class, much more numerous, with no ownership in the means of production, who were obliged to work for wages in order to live. Time, especially after the development of modern machinery and technique, has only widened the chasm between the workers and the owners. Some machines now cost more than a worker can earn in a lifetime.

The producers no longer own the means of production, and consequently they do not own the products, while the capitalists who do own the means of production, the mills, mines, railroads, factories, and are in the main nonproducers, still appropriate the products. In the days of individual production there naturally followed individual appropriation of the products. The producer was the owner. Today it is social production but by a nonowning class. But individual appropriation still remains. However, it is a nonproducing class, the capitalists, who appropriate the products. In other words, those who make don't take and those who take don't make.

THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM

Since social production is not compatible with individual appropriation based upon capitalist ownership, it is quite obvious that the next step in social development must be social ownership. The socialization of the means of production, collective ownership, can only be brought about by the workers as a class. Those who make collectively must take collective possession of the means of production. This cannot be done while the capitalist class still holds political power. Socialization of the means of production, which must not be confused with capitalist state ownership (state capitalism), can only follow the achievement of political supremacy by the producing class, the proletariat.

With the means of production socialized, the products would no longer be appropriated by a nonproducing class, the capitalists, but by the producers themselves. From the common store, the entire national supply, the workers would appropriate, according to their needs, a very much higher appropriation than that which wages now permit of. With the elimination of the exploitation of labor by capital; with profit, interest, and rent abolished, capitalism will go to join its feudal ancestor in the graveyard of history.

WHAT WILL A WORKERS' REVOLUTION ACHIEVE

With the overthrow of capitalism and the introduction of a new social system, a classless society, there would be tremendous changes and almost unlimited possibilities for advancing the welfare of all. While we cannot give details in advance of this development, the approximate results would be as follows: (1) The abolition of poverty. (2) The abolition of the mass murder known as war. (3) Tremendous expansion of production through the removal of the obstruction of profit making, the workers having the opportunity of consuming the bulk of what they produce. (4) The disappearance of panics and unemployment, as in the event of overproduction the people would simply cut working hours, or take a holiday until consumption overtook production, at least until the surplus was greatly reduced. (5) The elimination of costs of armies and navies (a burden now met by the capitalists out of the surplus values exploited from the workers). (6) Enormous reduction in crime through the removal of its main cause, poverty, and consequently a reduction or elimination of police, judges, jailers, and other prison expenditure. (7) Reduction in general waste, such as competitive advertising and other nonessentials.

LIFE ABUNDANT

With the tremendous savings that could be effected by abolishing all the above non-essential costs and the elimination of the rich parasites, i. e., the present generation of capitalists, who waste so much without producing anything useful, the people could have just as much as they desired to produce, within the limitations of the degree of existing productivity.

Consumption, now on a starvation minimum for the toiling masses, many of whom are not even permitted to produce, could be extended to great proportions, permitting the use of so much which the wages of present-day workers make impossible of attainment.

The former parasites (when able-bodied and mentally fit) would have to work for their own living, and likewise their army of servants (flunkies, butlers and other retainers) would be transferred to useful labor and thus cut down further on the working hours of all.

Having outlined above the principles and practices of the Proletarian Party and set forth what the objective of the Party is, we hereby urge all working men and women who are in agreement with us to become dues paying members, to join the ranks of the Proletarian Party.

For further information write to the Proletarian Party of America, 1545 N. Larrabee Street, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you another document entitled, "The Proletarian Party, Its Principles and Program," and ask you if you have ever seen this or a similar document.

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the same grounds and for the same reasons as I stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 28."

Mr. WOOD. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 28" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. And I would like, Mr. Chairman, to read one short paragraph from this document:

Ever since its inception, in 1920, the Proletarian Party of America has consistently adhered to the fundamental principles of Marxian communism.

I note also at the top of the document in typewritten form:

Proletarian Party lectures 1st and 3rd Sunday monthly 2:30 p. m., Danish Hall, 1775 West Forest at 12th.

NOWAK EXHIBIT NO. 28**THE PROLETARIAN PARTY—ITS PRINCIPLES AND PROGRAM**

For more than a quarter of a century, the Proletarian Party of America has consistently set forth its revolutionary principles for the consideration of the whole working class. Its starting point on all social questions, during peace or war, during prosperous periods or depressions, is that which will best serve the economic interests and political advancement of the working class as a whole.

The Proletarian Party contends that the greater war, the unceasing conflict between the employing class and the working class, cannot be compromised, cannot be modified with the passing of time, but only intensified and sharpened. It contends that this war between capital and labor can only be fought to a finish, that the only consistent and practical slogan for the workers against their exploiters, the industrial and financial capitalists, is "unconditional surrender."

There is no middle ground. Contrary to official teaching, capital and labor are not brothers, but deadly enemies. The struggle of the classes, rich against poor, is a historic fact. It is not the product of the rich hating the poor or the latter hating the rich. Hatred is there sure enough, but it is not the cause. It is the result of the division of society into classes, possessors and nonpossessors.

REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL ACTION

While the objective of the class struggle is economic, the retention of the means of production, the mills, mines, railroads, etc., by the capitalists, and the fight for possession of those means of production by the proletarians, the modern wage workers, the form which the struggle takes is political. This, too, is a historic fact, existing objectively outside of the minds of men.

When Karl Marx and Frederick Engels wrote into the Communist Manifesto, of 1849, that: "All class struggles are political struggles," they meant just exactly what they said. The institution which decrees that the class struggle is political was founded originally by, and in the interest of, the property-owning classes. It is the State, or what is commonly called government.

In all present-day phases of the struggle between capital and labor, between the workers and their exploiters, the State takes its stand on the side of capital, even when it tries, or pretends, to be impartial. That is what it exists for. It is the "public power of coercion." Its constitutions are founded upon property rights. Its purpose is the protection of those with property, especially property in the means of production. Those without property, the modern working class, the vast majority, may grasp, at its substance, but they only get its shadow.

Political action which has for its objective the overthrow of the profit system, the taking possession of the means of production by the vast majority, in the interests of the vast majority, is Revolutionary Political Action.

Ever since its inception, in 1920, the Proletarian Party of America has consistently adhered to the fundamental principles of Marxisan communism.

The objective of this party is to arouse the working people of America to a realization of the historic role they are called upon to play, namely, their self-emancipation from the yoke of capitalist exploitation. To this end, the Proletarian Party proclaims that the starting point of all intelligent class action is the recognition of the class character of present-day society, recognition of the fact that it is divided into two great camps, rich exploiters and exploited workers.

The wealth of America is produced socially. Enormous numbers of workers cooperate in the productive process. This is social production. But, while the wealth is produced collectively, it is appropriated individually, by the individual capitalists.

This result springs from the fact that the members of one class, the capitalists, own the means of production, the mills, mines, railroads, etc., and also own the natural resources of the nation, while the members of the other class, the proletarians (wage workers), have no ownership in the means of production.

If the workers would live, and provide for their dependents, they are obliged to sell, for wages, the only thing they possess, namely, their labor power, their mental and physical power to produce. But, the wage system of payment is like charity, "it covers a multitude of sins." Under the cloak of wage payments there lurks a legal system of plunder, politely called "the exploitation of labor." It is the source of all profit, interest, and rent. From this source alone, from the toil and sweat of social labor, arises the great fortunes of millionaires and multi-millionaires.

The chief problems of today cannot be solved within the structure of the prevailing social order, within the profit system. The basic problem, of course, is the "exploitation of labor." In other words, the workers produce wealth, the value of which is vastly in excess of the value of their wages, and, as we have previously pointed out, the abolition of this exploitation can be achieved only by revolutionary political action.

ORGANIZED ACTION

The working people, the vast majority of the population, must organize for the purpose of taking political power into their own hands, and establishing a new form of government through which they can direct the nation in the interest of all, instead of it being directed, as at present, in the interest of the capitalist class alone.

For this purpose, a political party is of prime importance. Hence, the Proletarian Party, which asserts that the collective ownership of the means of production, and the natural resources of the nation, is the only possible solution to the great problems of today, such as war, unemployment, mass starvation, ignorance, slums, disease, and crime. The achievement of permanent peace, adequate hous-

ing, health, and general security, can never be attained so long as production has to pass through the bottleneck of the profit system, which leaves the bulk of the wealth in the hands of rich parasites.

As long as capitalism remains, these problems will remain. Nay, more, they will increase in volume and viciousness. Strikes will take on greater magnitude and severity. They will become more and more political in character. More frequently will the government be forced to intervene to save capitalism, to keep it from collapse. Those struggles of labor against capital will take on the form of struggles against the government, which is, of course, the highest organized form of capitalist repression and coercion of the workers. The recent action of Congress in overwhelmingly supporting President Truman, and his proposed law to conscript into the army all who strike against a government-controlled industry, is emphatic proof of this trend.

POSTWAR PROBLEMS

As a result of the war, American capitalist imperialism has greatly expanded. It is now the dominant imperialism of the world and, as a consequence, the armed forces of the State will be maintained upon a vastly increased scale. The role of chief of police to the world, formerly Great Britain's role, has been taken over in the name of democracy by the United States. "Bearing the white man's burden," as the British imperialists used to hypocritically call it, and which meant carrying off everything of value that wasn't nailed down, now becomes the international mission of the Wall Street imperialists.

Large numbers of young men and women will be taken from their homes and sent to remote parts of the earth to police and protect the investments of the American finance capitalists, the great banking institutions, industrial monopolies, and if necessary, to lay down their lives in defense of those investments.

If the masses of the American people wish capitalism to continue, or think that there is nothing that can be done about it, then they will have to put up with its effects. If they want to remain in poverty, if they are satisfied with insecurity, if that is the inheritance they wish to pass on to their children, just to be wealth producers for another class all the days of their lives, then they can be sure that it will continue, especially with their support of the political parties of capitalism, the Democratic and Republican parties.

However, should the workers come to comprehend that by the power of their numbers (the only force they really have), they can, through organized action, alter this state of affairs, then independent political action is the first step to take.

Capitalism does not fear an ignorant mob, no matter how large or violent, but numerical strength, enlightened and organized, that is a different matter. That means real power, the only sort that will be effective. The difference between an army and a mob is a matter of organization.

The ruling class today has everything on its side, except numbers. All established institutions are at its disposal—the press, the radio, the schools, universities, and churches. All are openly or covertly, in the service of the rich and against the working class. "Public education" is capitalist education. The "public press" is the capitalist press. Its propaganda is in the interest of the property owners. Some of it is openly antilabor. Some of it pretends to be friendly to labor, provided that the workers are satisfied with the present social arrangement, or want but slight improvements.

Those who preach class peace, whether through the press or the pulpit, mean peace with poverty, the continuation of slums or, at best, improved slums. The professional charity mongers are staunch defenders of the system which makes their "charity" necessary.

Those who look to the rich exploiters, their Government and political parties, for justice, will get capitalist justice and no other. The workers, the vast majority, must establish their own justice. The first step is to break with the political traditions of the past, and the second is to build a powerful political party of the working class, upon principles, and with policies, such as those of the Proletarian Party.

The Proletarian Party has consistently asserted that capitalism with its profit, interest, and rent, for one class, and starvation wages for the workers, has outlived its historical usefulness, that the time is now here for its entire abolition.

Reforming the present social order will not bring advantages to the workers. Each "improvement" which emanates from Congress, is overtaken and nullified

by new breakdowns, by further inroads upon the living standards of the working class. Problems, under capitalism, arise faster than they can be remedied.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

What is commonly called the Labor Movement, namely, labor unions of all sorts, has grown enormously in the last decade. Millions of workers are now organized on the economic field, but they are still unorganized politically. They do not trust the employing class in relation to their jobs and conditions of employment, but they have complete confidence in the political representatives of that class, the Republicans and Democrats.

Capital school "education" and inculcated prejudices make the organized labor movement victims of deceit and betrayal on the political field. Their top-lofty, high-paid officials, many of whom have grown rich and arrogant, are but the henchmen of Wall Street's capitalist imperialism. Their scheme is to keep the workers looking to the political parties of big business for legislation favorable to the working class. Therefore, no real progress is made, just palliatives and promises which leave the workers as bad off, or worse, than before.

It is time that organized labor broke with its ancient policy of supporting "good" enemies against bad enemies. Political "friends" of labor within the Republican and Democratic parties are supported and "enemies" are opposed on election days. By this "practical" maneuver the organized workers are led into the political sheep pens of Wall Street. The longer the workers stick to this outworn political course, the longer will they be pushed around and left "holding the bag" by the very system which they help to uphold.

While recognizing those political shortcomings of organized labor, the Proletarian Party has given, and will continue to give, unstinting support to the workers in their day-to-day struggle with the employing class for better conditions of employment, more wages and shorter hours.

The workers, as yet, do not understand that with their present weapons and plans of battle they are foredoomed to defeat, but they will learn as a consequence of those defeats. Stricken to the ground they will rise again stronger than before. Capitalism will force them to organize politically, as it has done in most other countries, and it will force their political action into revolutionary channels, because the workers, as a class, so long as the profit system remains, cannot rise with the progress of industry but only fall.

WHAT WILL A WORKERS' REVOLUTION ACHIEVE?

With the overthrow of capitalism and the introduction of a new social system, a classless society, there would be tremendous changes and almost unlimited possibilities for advancing the welfare of all. While we cannot give details in advance of this development, the approximate results would be as follows: (1) The abolition of poverty. (2) The abolition of the mass murder known as war. (3) Tremendous expansion of production through the removal of the obstruction of profit making, the workers having the opportunity of consuming the bulk of what they produce. (4) The disappearance of panics and unemployment, as in the event of overproduction the people would simply cut working hours, or take a holiday until consumption overtook production, at least until the surplus was greatly reduced. (5) The elimination of the costs of armies and navies (a burden now met by the capitalists out of surplus values exploited from the workers). (6) Enormous reduction in crime through the removal of its main cause, poverty, and consequently a reduction or elimination of police, judges, jailers, and other prison expenditure. (7) Reduction in general waste, such as competitive advertising and other nonessentials.

LIFE ABUNDANT

With the tremendous saving that could be effected by abolishing all the above nonessential costs and the elimination of the rich parasites, i. e., the present generation of capitalists, who waste so much without producing anything useful, the people could have just as much as they desire to produce, within the limitations of the degree of existing productivity.

Consumption, now on a starvation minimum for the toiling masses, many of whom are often not even permitted to produce, could be extended to great

proportions, permitting the use of so much which the wages of present-day workers make impossible of attainment.

The former parasites (when able-bodied and mentally fit) would have to work for their own living, and likewise their army of servants (flunkies, butlers, and other retainers) would be transferred to useful labor and thus cut down further on the working hours of all.

Having outlined above the principles and program of the Proletarian Party and set forth what the objective of the Party is, we hereby urge all working men and women who are in agreement with us to become dues-paying members to join the ranks of the Proletarian Party.

(Adopted by the Proletarian Party at its National Convention, at Chicago, May 30, 31, and June 1, 1946.)

(For further information write to the Proletarian Party of America, 1545 North Larrabee Street, Chicago 10, Ill. Read Proletarian News, 5 cents, monthly; subscription 50 cents a year.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you another document entitled, "Manifesto and Program of the Proletarian Party of America," and ask you if you have ever seen this or a similar document.

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons and on the same constitutional grounds as I declined to answer other questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer this document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 29."

Mr. WOOD. It may be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 29" and received in evidence.)

NOWAK EXHIBIT NO. 29

MANIFESTO AND PROGRAM OF THE PROLETARIAN PARTY OF AMERICA

Beginning with, and following, the Great War, America entered upon the greatest period of prosperity in its entire history. During this period the American capitalists achieved a dominant position in world commerce and international finance. Undreamed of wealth was produced by the workers and appropriated by the capitalists. "Prosperity" was upon the lips of all. The press teemed with praises of America's prosperity and even contended that it would last indefinitely. Other nations might experience depression and unemployment but not so America. This nation was different. "American ingenuity, American enterprise, American brains, American methods" were the all-saving virtues that were to prevent America from falling into the economic chaos that the European nations were experiencing.

So dominant were these opinions that they deluded certain officials of the Labor Movement who should have known better, and lulled to sleep large sections of organized labor itself. But a rude awakening was in store, not only for the capitalists, especially the smaller ones, but for millions of workers who had come to believe in the permanency of American prosperity.

Some of these workers who received better pay and more permanent employment than the rest had invested in real estate, usually upon the installment plan. Some of them had become small stockholders, others had built up bank accounts. Those who had been less fortunate hoped soon to do likewise. They had come to regard themselves as part of the Capitalistic class. These conditions formed the basis for the extreme indifference of the workers toward the labor movement and their own political and economic interests.

Such was the situation that for the past several years confronted the Proletarian Party. But a great change is now taking place in the general attitude of the American worker. The collapse of capitalist prosperity, the inevitability of which was continually asserted by the Proletarian Party, has brought along with it unemployment on the largest and most prolonged scale ever experienced. It has speedily reduced millions to the verge of starvation and millions more to the most precarious condition of existence.

OVERPRODUCTION

This plight of the workers is not due to a shortage of food or other necessities of life. While millions are in want, the storehouses are filled to the limit of their capacity. There is wheat by millions of bushels. There are admittedly

vast surpluses of nearly all commodities. Much of it is being wasted, some allowed to rot and some is being deliberately destroyed because it cannot be sold at a profit. Meanwhile, factories are falling into decay and productive organization are being discarded.

This problem of vast stocks of food, etc., and millions of jobless and hungry workers, finds the administrators of present-day society baffled and helpless. The same problem has thoroughly exposed the intellectual bankruptcy of the political soothsayers at Washington and their allies of the university, the press and the pulpit.

The Proletarian Party once more reminds the American workers of the simple economic facts of the problem confronting them. The present social system is based upon the capitalist class ownership of the means of production, the mills, mines, railroads, factories, etc., and is operated solely for the profit of that class. The supplying of human wants is only incidental, profit comes first.

In the competition among Capitalists, and their constant effort to increase profit, they are forced to continually improve the machinery of production. This increases the product and, at the same time, decreases the number of workers employed. Although this is not a new feature of Capitalism, it has recently become so pronounced that unemployment actually increased during the greatest period of prosperity the country has ever known. Between the years 1919 and 1929 the workers in America increased their average productivity fifty percent. This increase in the volume of each worker's product, through improved machinery and the speeding up of labor, results in what is now called "Technological Unemployment."

PERMANENCY OF UNEMPLOYMENT

One of the characteristics of the present crisis is the duration and threatened permanency of unemployment. Many workers are now coming to realize that even if business could be restored to its former status, the great mass of unemployed could not be put back to work.

The American workers must realize that from now on there will be a permanent army of unemployed, running into millions, and that this permanent army will become larger and larger.

The Capitalist system moves through a series of business cycles. There is a period of normal operation; a period of break-neck speed; and a period of expansion and overcapitalization which results again and again in a crash. The present world-wide crisis springs from these same causes. In this most disastrous depression the unemployed armies have reached the enormous total of thirty millions.

The palliatives of Capitalism have all failed to solve the problem. Rigid economy, unemployment insurance, shorter hours, public building programs, have all proved unsuccessful. The more vulgar schemes of "Buy now," "Restore confidence," and "Spend for Prosperity" campaigns have likewise failed.

The Capitalist system contains within it an inherent contradiction that will cause its downfall. This contradiction is social production and individual appropriation of the products. In social production the product is turned out by large numbers of workers, each of whom performs a certain operation upon it. There is specialization, cooperation, and scientific planning within the privately owned factory. By individual appropriation, this social product, made by the combined effort of countless workers, becomes the property of the Capitalist.

This contradiction cannot be solved through reforms. Only a social revolution, introducing social appropriation to take the place of capitalist appropriation of the social products, can effect a solution. In other words, the working class must abolish capitalist ownership of the means whereby the workers live. The working class must take over the political power and centralize all means of production in their own hands, to the end that they will not produce only to starve but to enjoy the fruits of their labor.

SOCIAL PROGRESS

All social progress is based upon advancement in the methods of wresting from nature the things needed to sustain human life and securing the enjoyment thereof. All social upheavals and political changes are only expressions of the social recognition that new methods of production and distribution require new social organization for their promotion and protection.

Ever since man's productive ability reached the stage where he could produce more than was absolutely necessary for his individual maintenance, some class

has taken advantage of this productivity. Through assumed social leadership, or "ordained" rulership, these classes have claimed for themselves all surplus products. They have surrounded themselves with organized guards—the state, the church, the press, etc.—and have wielded these institutions coercively and deceptively to maintain themselves in power and uphold their property "rights."

Throughout the forward march toward greater productive ability the beneficiaries of the old system have only given way when the new system had developed enough strength to force out the old ruling class, together with their now antiquated social organization. Thus the ancient system of chattel slavery was replaced by feudalism, and again, in its time, feudalism was superseded by capitalism.

But the capitalist system is no more perpetual than its predecessors. Already within its framework there has developed the means of its destruction. As we have pointed out, social production has developed into the gigantic machine and factory method which, confined within the narrow channels of private ownership, is no longer able to function normally. As a result it has developed these absurd conditions where producers have no access to the means of production, and where factories must stand idle while willing workers, in ever-increasing numbers, walk the streets and starve because they have produced too much and have not the means to purchase a portion of their own products.

THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

In opposition to the repressive forces of the imperialist powers, the world's workers must look to the Communist International for guidance in their struggle to break the yoke of capitalist rule. The Proletarian Party recognizes that, despite its errors and the worthlessness of its American section, the Communist International is the only organized world force capable of combating the organized force of world capitalism. Its militant leadership and its unceasing efforts are a source of hope and inspiration to the exploited and oppressed of all lands.

LABOR UNIONS

The most important section of the American Proletariat is the organized labor movement. The Proletarian Party recognizes this fact and urges the workers to support the unions, even when they are highly reactionary and in the hands of corrupt leaders. To desert the unions is to play into the hands of the capitalist class. The class-conscious worker remains within the union and works to remove such parasites as have fastened themselves upon the rank and file, and to enlighten his fellow unionists as to the real nature of the task confronting the working class. The Proletarian Party members are part and parcel of the labor unions and the Party's policy is in direct harmony with the best interests of the working class. Its object is to broaden, encourage, and develop the everyday struggle into a political conflict for working class supremacy. To this end the Proletarian Party calls upon organized labor to definitely ally itself with the organized workers of all other countries under the banner of the Red International of Labor Unions.

GOVERNMENT

The abolition of the wage system and the ushering in of the communist society can be achieved only by the conquest of political power. The State, "the public power of coercion," was instituted in society with the development of property and the division of society into classes—property owners and propertiless workers.

Today the State with its repressive machinery (the army, navy, state militia, police, courts, and jails) functions exclusively for the interests of a powerful minority, namely, the capitalist class. Congress is but an executive committee for carrying out the will of this class.

THE PARLIAMENTARY FORM

The present form of the State, parliamentary government, with universal suffrage is the form par excellence for capitalist society. The Proletarian Party will nominate, where possible, candidates for all political offices, for the purpose of using elections as a means of conveying to the masses an understanding of the State and its function. The Proletarian Party will use its elected representatives, not merely to keep out representatives of the bourgeoisie but to ex-

pose the shallowness, corruption, and fraud of capitalist democracy, from within the parliamentary bodies and to hasten the downfall of the capitalist class which uses the State as a means to perpetuate its rule.

THE SOVIET FORM

The parliamentary form of the State, because of its capitalist nature, cannot function for the liberation of the proletariat. A new state form must be set up, constituted of the proletariat, the immense majority, organized as ruling class. In Russia this new state form is the Soviets. It is the dictatorship of the proletariat which enables the workers to suppress counter-revolution and carry out the socialization of the means of production. The Soviet is the dying out form of the State. It is the form that exists only in the transition period between capitalism and communism.

As society becomes classless the State gradually loses its coercive features. It will finally disappear and leave in its place an economic administration of affairs. Production and distribution will then be carried on, not for the profit of a few but for the well-being of all, for society as a whole—The Communist Society.

COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION

The most efficient organized force that the workers can wield against their oppressors is communist organization. This takes the form of a revolutionary political party. It is only through political action that the working class can overthrow their oppressors.

But revolutionary political action is not confined to participating in elections and in parliamentary bodies. It embraces all working class action that has for its objective the undermining and the overthrow of the capitalist system which now retards human progress.

The revolutionary party of the working class, although distinct from the organized labor movement, is an inseparable part thereof. Its task is not a mere critical one. It shows by example and active participation in the daily struggle the line of demarcation between capital and labor. It must at all times struggle to keep the class issue clear and point the revolutionary road of advance. It must be capable of visualizing and analyzing concrete situations confronting the workers. It must take the necessary steps, in keeping with the prevailing conditions, at every stage in the ripening conflict between capital and labor.

The revolutionary party of the working class in America, at this time, must labor to awaken, marshall and organize the workers into a mighty force to be directed against the organized power of the capitalist class. This is the present task of the Proletarian Party. It, more than any other working class party, has grasped the principles and methods of Communism, and is therefore most able to cope with the problems now confronting the American working class. It has continually sought to bring within its ranks the already awakened workers so that they may become trained and experienced leaders in this struggle. Through its agitation and education it has consistently worked for the development of political consciousness in the masses, to the end that they may become the lever for overthrowing the political supremacy of the ruling class.

JOIN THE PROLETARIAN PARTY

To all workers conscious of their class interests and conscious of the fact that organization is indispensable to working class victory, the Proletarian Party makes its appeal. It calls upon these workers to join its ranks and fight in the world-wide struggle for the termination of all class rule, for the ending of the exploitation of man by man.

Workers, organize and fight for the rule of your class! Fight for the new society that abolishes poverty amid wealth and establishes well-being and security for the masses—for mankind! Fight for the progress of the future and against the reaction of the past, for Science and against religious superstition, for the plenty your labor produces, and against capitalist misery and starvation, for working class freedom and against capitalist slavery, for Communist planning and against capitalist anarchy! Workers, unite! Organize! Join the Proletarian Party!

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Nowak, were you ever a member of the Proletarian Party?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the constitutional grounds as provided in the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a copy of the Proletarian, issue of November 1929. On the inside front cover it is recorded that the Proletarian is the official organ of the Proletarian Party of America. Page 2 of the issue—if you will turn to it—is devoted to party notes, and in the first column mention is made of a series of lectures. It is reported that Comrade Stanley Nowak lectured on October 27, and his subject was the history of bolshevism.

Mr. NOWAK. What date is that?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine it? It is right in front of you. It is the issue, I think, of November 1929.

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the same grounds for the same reason that I stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does "Comrade Stanley Nowak" apply to you?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you make a lecture on October 27, 1929, on the subject, of the history of bolshevism, as stated in the party notes of that issue of the Proletarian?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons and on the same grounds as I declined other questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 30."

Mr. Wood. Let it be introduced.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 30" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the document again, please? On the right-hand side of the page you will find the beginning of an article entitled "Russia From 1905 to 1917" by Stanley Nowak. Does that refer to you?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you write an article on Russia from 1905 to 1917?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the same ground as I declined others.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you write the article appearing in the November issue of 1929?

Mr. NOWAK. I answered the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your answer?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Under the heading "Party notes" in the July 30 issue of the Proletarian, mention is made of Comrade Novak, N-o-v-a-k, according to the spelling appearing there, and others addressed a large meeting of unemployed in the Polish district of the Northwest Side in Chicago. Were you in Chicago in 1930?

Mr. NOWAK. I testified that I was in Chicago in 1930.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does that article refer to you?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons that I stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you address a large meeting of unemployed in Northwest Side Chicago in July 1930?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons and same grounds as I stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 31."

Mr. WOOD. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 31" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Under the same title of "Party Notes" in the August 1930 issue of The Proletarian, mention is made that Comrade S. Novak—and the spelling again is N-o-v-a-k—spoke at two meetings in Dowagiac, Mich. Will you examine the article, please, and state whether or not you did appear and speak at two meetings in Dowagiac, Mich.?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the same constitutional grounds and for the same reasons I refused to answer previous questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the document in evidence and ask it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 32."

Mr. WOOD. It may be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 32" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Under the heading "Party Notes" in the June 1931 issue, mention is made that Comrade Stanley Novak—again the spelling is N-o-v-a-k—delivered a series of four lectures on the progress of the Soviet Union, at the Detroit headquarters located at 2036 Woodward Avenue. Did you deliver a series of four lectures as reported in that issue of The Proletarian?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the same constitutional grounds and for the same reasons that I declined previous questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 33."

Mr. WOOD. It may be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 33" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. The Proletarian News, successor to The Proletarian, issue of January 7, 1932, under the title "Proletarian Party Activities," page 6, mentions that Comrade Novak—the spelling again is N-o-v-a-k—was in Boston and several meetings were held, and that the Boston Local was looking forward to his return. Did you speak at a meeting in Boston as reported by The Proletarian News?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the same grounds and for the same reasons as I declined to answer previous questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the document in evidence and ask it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 34."

Mr. WOOD. It may be introduced.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 34" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. The February 15, 1932, issue of the Proletarian News at page 8 mentions that Comrade Stanley Novak—the spelling is N-o-v-a-k—addressed a meeting in Cleveland on January 26 on the subject of Russia Today. Did you make the speech referred to?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the same grounds for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Exhibit No. 35."

Mr. Wood. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 35" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I have before me an article entitled, "Religion, Science and Social Progress," in the July 1929 issue of the Proletarian. I wish you would examine this article which I am now handing you. Will you take it, please, and examine it, because I want to base a question on it.

In that article, did you say that religion is a social phenomena, subject to the economic conditions of society and their relation to nature; that it could originate only at a certain stage of historical development and will disappear when those conditions that brought it into being are no more? Did you write that article containing that language?

Mr. NOWAK. I certainly have a right to express my opinion to write or to study a religious question or philosophical question. That privilege, I have. That privilege I reserve. I made studies of religion and a study of philosophy.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. But did you write that article?

Mr. NOWAK. That question I decline to answer on constitutional grounds. It is my privilege to write if I want to as provided in the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 36."

Mr. Wood. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 36" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I will refer to the Proletarian, the issue of March 1931, which reports from South Bend, Ind., that Comrade Stanley Nowak spoke at the Workman's Circle Hall on Monday, February 23, on Russia's Challenge to Capitalism. Will you examine the issue of the Proletarian, please, and state whether or not you spoke at that time and on the occasion mentioned on the subject of Russia's Challenge to Capitalism.

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons as I stated, and on the same constitutional grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 37."

Mr. Woon. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 37" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. The Proletarian News of March 1, 1932, under a Detroit dateline—which is the same as Nowak exhibit No. 37—reports as follows: After stating that Comrade Stanley Nowak spoke on Monday, February 23, as referred to just a few moments ago, there is stated:

Before an audience of 800 people at the Proletarian Forum, held at Northern High School in Detroit, February 7, 1932, Comrade Stanley Novak spoke on Europe at the Crossroads—Communism or Fascism.

Did you make such an address at the Northern High School in Detroit?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the same grounds and for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. I turn now to the March 15, 1932, issue of the Proletarian News, in which there is stated, in black type, on the subject of Comrade Novak—N-o-v-a-k—reports on recent tour, the following language which is quoted:

I have been making speaking trips for the Proletarian Party, a party organized to ad-

and that is the end of the line, and apparently a line is left out, so I will read it just as it appears here with the line left out and I will begin again:

I have been making speaking trips for the Proletarian Party (a party organized to ad-communism of the Third Internationale dedicated to overthrow of all but Soviet governments) for the last 3 years but the one I have just completed was the longest one I have made, and the most fruitful for the party.

I hand you the document and ask you to examine it and state whether or not you were correctly quoted.

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons and on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long a speaking trip did you make for the advancement of the Proletarian Party?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the same grounds, for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer this document in evidence and asked that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 37."

Mr. WOOD. It has been so received.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 37" and received in evidence.)

Mr. WALTER. What is that date?

Mr. TAVENNER. March 15, 1932.

In 1932, according to the statement you made at the beginning of your interrogation, you were in Detroit unemployed. Now, as a matter of fact, you were not unemployed during the entire period of 1931 to 1934, were you? In 1934 you were engaged in the work of organizing for the Proletarian Party; isn't that true?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you were not correct in your statement that you were unemployed from 1931 to 1934?

Mr. NOWAK. I was correct that I was unemployed. I received no pay during that period. I was not employed by anybody.

Mr. TAVENNER. You received no compensation of any character for any services that you rendered during that period?

Mr. NOWAK. I was not employed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you draw a distinction between being employed and working as an organizer?

Mr. NOWAK. Don't you?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I am glad you recognize the difference.

Did you receive pay as an organizer for the Proletarian Party between 1931 and 1934?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, let us return, for a moment, to the period of time in 1951 after your alleged return from Poland when you were making speeches around to various cities. You said you were not paid

by any foreign government or power. Were you paid through the Polonia Society of the International Workers' Order? Weren't you paid a weekly salary and your expenses for doing that very work?

Mr. CROCKETT. Counsel, isn't the International Workers' Order listed in this book? I believe it is.

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the same grounds for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you on June 13, 1938, a member of the Proletarian Party?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons as I stated before as stipulated in the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You told us at an earlier point in your testimony that you were the organizer of the West Side local 174 from 1937 until 1939, and you enumerated several of the plants that came within the jurisdiction of that local. One of them was Ternstedt. Will you tell us the circumstances under which you became employed as an organizer for the West Side local 174?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, first I was hired by Mr. Homer Martin to work for the International of the UAW. Later on, on the suggestion of Walter Reuther, the executive council—I believe they called it—the legislative body of local 174 hired me to work as an organizer for that local.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did any other group of individuals have any part to play in your being employed at local 174?

Mr. NOWAK. I couldn't conceive of any other group because the only people who were in authority was the council of the local. It is the only legislative body, and the president of that local who was Walter Reuther. No one else could employ me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever employed independently at Ternstedt in a capacity other than as organizer?

Mr. NOWAK. No; I was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you say that your work as organizer was located at Ternstedt?

Mr. NOWAK. Principally at Ternstedt.

Mr. TAVENNER. Principally?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photostatic copy of the Ternstedt Flash, issued by the educational committee of stewards council, Ternstedt division, West Side Local No. 174, UAW, and ask you if you wrote the article appearing there entitled "To the Workers of Ternstedt"?

Mr. NOWAK. To the best of my knowledge, it appears like an article that I have written for that publication.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 38."

Mr. WOOD. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Nowak Exhibit No. 38" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Senator Nowak, William O'Dell Nowell testified before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on November 30, 1939. He stated as follows:

I met Nowak casually before he joined the Communist Party. In fact, he joined the Communist Party in 1935. I was present at his initiation at a banquet during which he was initiated by William Weinstone. He was subsequently associated with him in Communist Party activities in Detroit.

Now, will you state whether that is true or false insofar as it refers to you?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the constitutional grounds and as stipulated in the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you initiated into membership in the Communist Party by William Weinstone?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reason and on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you initiated into the Communist Party in 1935?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons and on the same constitutional grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know William Weinstone?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons and on the same constitutional grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like Investigator Jackson Jones to present, before the committee, an individual whom I will be content at the present with calling Mr. X.

(Whereupon Mr. Casimir Rataj was brought forward.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Nowak, are you acquainted with the person who is now standing in front of you and facing you whom I referred to as Mr. X?

Mr. NOWAK. May I ask who this man is? What is his name?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will it be of any assistance to you in identifying him if I tell you his name is Mr. Casimir Rataj?

Mr. NOWAK. I do not recollect the name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever seen him before to your knowledge even if you do not remember his name?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question relying on the provisions in the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you mean to state that the basis for your refusal to answer it is that to admit that you know the identity of this individual might subject you to criminal prosecution? Is that the basis of your reply?

Mr. NOWAK. This individual apparently is one of those professional informers that can be called at any time to testify. I don't know what he will say, and therefore I call upon my constitutional rights at this moment.

Mr. JACKSON. I think the record should show that so far as 98 percent of the American people are concerned, the so-called informers are in very, very excellent standing and are rendering a great service to the United States of America.

Mr. NOWAK. That is a matter of opinion.

Mr. JACKSON. Very definitely.

Mr. NOWAK. Yes. In the ranks of labor, every informer is looked down upon.

Mr. WOOD. You branded this party as an informer. How do you know that?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, the fact that you bring this individual here—

Mr. WOOD. Have you heard him open his mouth?

Mr. NOWAK. No, but the mere fact that you bring him and you confront me—

Mr. WOOD. But you, under oath, say he is an informer. Now you either know that or—

Mr. NOWAK. No. I said he might be.

Mr. WOOD. Now wait a minute. You either know that or you have sworn falsely. Which is it?

Mr. CROCKETT. I beg your pardon, Mr. Chairman. The witness did not say that this individual is an informer.

Mr. WOOD. He said it, and you know he said it.

Mr. CROCKETT. Let us have the record read, then.

Mr. WOOD. Don't argue about that.

Mr. CROCKETT. He said that he suspected that he was—

Mr. WOOD. I am not going to let you put words in the record that the witness hasn't put in the record himself. The witness said, "This man is an informer, and I don't know what he will say when he gets on the witness stand."

Mr. CROCKETT. He said he might be.

Mr. WOOD. That statement is true or false. If you know, how do you know it?

Mr. NOWAK. I said he might be.

Mr. WOOD. No; you did not. You said he was an informer. You don't know that, do you?

Mr. NOWAK. I don't know who he is.

Mr. WOOD. Well, if you did say he was an informer, you swore falsely, didn't you?

Mr. NOWAK. I didn't say that. I said he might be. Bringing him under such a dramatic situation as you do creates all kinds of suspicion. And, for that reason, I decline to make any specific answer.

Mr. WOOD. You do know that man, don't you? Let us be honest for once in our lives. What do you say about that? You do know the man, don't you?

Mr. NOWAK. Mr. Chairman, I am honest.

Mr. WOOD. All right. Then tell me whether you know him or not.

Mr. NOWAK. But I cannot under the circumstances answer the question because I may lay myself open to some charges.

Mr. WOOD. Well, you know as well as I know that the answer to that question isn't going to lay you open to any charges.

Mr. NOWAK. How do I know? The mere fact what happened here is a good indication. How do I know what you people are planning?

Mr. JACKSON. If you don't know this gentleman—and I make the distinction between that and informer—would you incriminate yourself if you said you didn't know him?

Mr. NOWAK. My attorney informs me that it is a legal question, and, therefore, I, as a layman—

Mr. JACKSON. In other words, you can't say that you don't know this man because in doing so you might jeopardize yourself?

Mr. NOWAK. I didn't say that at all.

Mr. JACKSON. No; I said that.

Mr. NOWAK. I know you did, but I didn't.

Mr. JACKSON. I said it, and I think that fact is self-evident.

Mr. NOWAK. No, it is not.

Mr. JACKSON. You were asked if you knew this gentleman, and you say, "No, I don't know him."

Mr. NOWAK. No, I just refused to answer the question.

Mr. JACKSON. That is quite apparent.

Mr. NOWAK. Sure.

Mr. WALTER. Well, nothing this witness or any witness could say would more eloquently brand you for what you are than what you have done here today.

Mr. NOWAK. That is a matter of opinion.

Mr. WOOD. Anything further?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

You stated you did not know the individual. Possibly I can refresh your recollection about circumstances under which you may have met him.

Mr. WOOD. I didn't understand the witness to say that he didn't know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. I so understood him a few moments ago. I understood him to say he didn't know him.

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall attending a meeting in the basement of the Finnish Hall at 5969 Fourteenth Street in August of 1937?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the same grounds and for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall Mr. William Weinstone discussing with you your reluctance to openly avow your Communist Party membership?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reason and on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall on the occasion I mentioned a discussion in which Mr. Boleslaw Gebert entered into with regard to your participation in Communist Party work?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question for the same reasons on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Mr. Gebert?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer the question on the same grounds and for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWAK. I have answered that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your answer?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWAK. I decline to answer that question for the same constitutional reasons that I have mentioned, as provided in the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused from further attendance?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. It is so ordered.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to call to the stand Mr. Casimir Rataj.

Mr. Wood. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please? You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RATAJ. I do.

TESTIMONY OF CASIMIR RATAJ

Mr. Wood. Are you represented by counsel here, Mr. Rataj?

Mr. RATAJ. No, sir.

Mr. Wood. Do you desire counsel?

Mr. RATAJ. Not necessarily.

Mr. Wood. If you do at any time during your examination, you are at liberty to make that fact known and procure counsel.

Mr. RATAJ. I have nothing to hide, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mr. RATAJ. Casimir Rataj.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell your last name, please?

Mr. RATAJ. R-a-t-a-j.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. RATAJ. Poland, March 28, 1902.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized American citizen?

Mr. RATAJ. Declaration papers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you live?

Mr. RATAJ. Marine City.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Marine City?

Mr. RATAJ. I believe about 6 years now.

Mr. Wood. Will you raise your voice just a little? We cannot hear you up here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever live in Hamtramck?

Mr. RATAJ. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RATAJ. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over what period of time were you a member?

Mr. RATAJ. I believe from the fall of 1936 to the spring of 1938.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become a member of the Communist Party at the instance of a non-Communist, a person who was not a member of the Communist Party? Did you become a member of the Communist Party at the suggestion of a person who was not a member?

Mr. RATAJ. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you become a member of the party?

Mr. RATAJ. I was signed by a Communist Party member, Richard McMahon.

Mr. TAVENNER. Richard McMahon?

Mr. RATAJ. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. And he was a member of the party?

Mr. RATAJ. Yes, sir.

Mr. Wood. How do you spell that name?

Mr. RATAJ. M-c M-a-h-o-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you happen to get out of the party?

Mr. RATAJ. I was president of the Hamtramck WPA Workers, a Hamtramck local of the WPA workers, in which Richard McMahon was a business agent of Wayne County, WPA Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, how did you happen to leave the party?

Mr. RATAJ. Well, I was kicked out, beat up.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were kicked out?

Mr. RATAJ. They found out after a while what I really was in there for.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why were you in the party?

Mr. RATAJ. To get some information.

Mr. TAVENNER. And when they found that out, they kicked you out of the party?

Mr. RATAJ. They beat me out—they threw me out.

Mr. POTTER. Who were you getting the information for?

Mr. RATAJ. The gentleman is deceased at the present. He is deceased. It was John Matkowski. He was president of PRCU, president of the Political Club, and also a member of the Knights of Columbus.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the president of this club of the section of the Communist Party that you were assigned to?

Mr. RATAJ. George Kristalsky. He was the chairman of the section.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Mr. Kristalsky invite you to attend a meeting of functionaries of the party with him?

Mr. RATAJ. Oh, yes; on many occasions.

Mr. TAVENNER. On many occasions?

Mr. RATAJ. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you see the gentleman on the witness chair occupying the same position you now occupy when I brought you here and referred to you as Mr. X?

Mr. RATAJ. Yes; I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever seen him before?

Mr. RATAJ. I saw him when he had a corner here on Michigan Avenue preaching the Proletarian Party. That would be around 1926 or 1927.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you see him at any time after that?

Mr. RATAJ. I saw him several times, but later my father forbade me to see him any more, or attend any of his meetings, and I lost contact until after the UAW started organizing and he came here to Detroit. And the first time I met him was when they organized—Stanley Nowak and Mary Zuck was organizing the cigar factory workers on Forest and Grandy.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you meet him at any time in a meeting with Mr. George Kristalsky?

Mr. RATAJ. No. You mean when they were at the same meeting?

Mr. TAVENNER. At the same meeting.

Mr. RATAJ. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What kind of a meeting was that?

Mr. RATAJ. Well, it was a membership meeting, what I understood, only, as I say, just party big brass was supposed to attend.

Mr. POTTER. What party?

Mr. RATAJ. Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was this meeting held?

Mr. RATAJ. At the Finnish Hall on the Fourteenth Street in a basement. At that time and at that meeting the visitor was Foster.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Mr. Nowak there?

Mr. RATAJ. He was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you remember any conversation that took place with regard to Mr. Nowak?

Mr. RATAJ. Well, with regards to Mr. Nowak, he was questioned how the membership on the West Side local, or in particular, Ternstedt was progressing and he said, "They are going fine." Well, then Weinstone asked him, he said, "Why haven't we got any applications from you?" His answer was: He don't subscribe members because he has other people in there which do the work and he don't want to come out in the open.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Weinstone asked him why he had no subscriptions?

Mr. RATAJ. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. And he said he had other people doing the work because he did not want to do it openly himself?

Mr. RATAJ. That's right. Then that's when Weinstone quit. Gebert jumped up and he said, "There you are. There's a member of the party." He didn't mention what party. But he said, "party member." He said, "There you are. That's the way he works. We put him on the job and he lets us down. He is ashamed of us."

Mr. TAVENNER. That is what Boleslaw Gebert said?

Mr. RATAJ. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What year did this meeting take place?

Mr. RATAJ. In 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you remember the month?

Mr. RATAJ. In August.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. I have no questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. Wood. Is there any reason why the witness shouldn't be excused from further attendance?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. Wood. It is so ordered.

The committee appreciates very much your coming here, and you will be excused.

(The witness was excused.)

The committee will stand in recess until 10 o'clock in the morning.

(Whereupon, at 5:15 p.m., the committee was recessed to reconvene at 10 a.m. Tuesday, March 11, 1952.)

COMMUNISM IN THE DETROIT AREA—PART 2

TUESDAY, MARCH 11, 1952

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Detroit, Mich.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met pursuant to call at 10:05 a. m., in room 740, Federal Building, Detroit, Mich., Hon. John S. Wood (chairman), presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood, Francis E. Walter, Donald L. Jackson, and Charles E. Potter.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; John W. Carrington, clerk; and Donald T. Appell and Jackson Jones, investigators.

Mr. Wood. Let us have order, please.

Mr. Counsel, are you ready to proceed?

Mr. TAVENNER. I will be in just one moment. I am ready, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Wood. Who will you call as your first witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. The first witness will be Lee Romano.

Mr. Wood. Is Mr. Romano present?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. Wood. Will you be sworn?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF ELESIO ("LEE") ROMANO

Mr. Wood. Are you represented by counsel, Mr. Romano?

Mr. ROMANO. No, I do not believe I need counsel, sir, because I am going to tell the truth.

Mr. Wood. If, during the course of your interrogation, you determine that you do need counsel, you are at liberty to select whoever you desire.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Mr. Lee Romano?

Mr. ROMANO. My official name is Elesio Romano, but I am known by the name of "Lee" Romano.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell your first name?

Mr. ROMANO. E-l-e-s-i-o.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. ROMANO. I was born on October 28, 1912, in the Province of Udine, Italy.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. ROMANO. I came to the United States in 1920.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized American citizen?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes, I was naturalized through my father's papers, and I took out my own papers in 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that done in Detroit?

Mr. ROMANO. Originally it was done in New Haven, Conn., in 1928.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you now live in Detroit?

Mr. ROMANO. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Detroit?

Mr. ROMANO. I have lived in Detroit since January 1, 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, briefly, what your educational background has been?

Mr. ROMANO. I went through grammar school, the Prince Street School in New Haven, Conn., and went to New Haven High School for 4 years and completed that and went to New Haven College, 2 years at night.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your occupational background has been since you came to Detroit?

Mr. ROMANO. When I came to Detroit, I started working for the Ford Motor Co. and I worked for the Ford Motor Co. until I was elected to the office of vice president of local 600 in 1948. I served 2 years as vice president of local 600 in 1948 and 1949, through April or May of 1950. Then I went on the payroll of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in June, approximately June of 1951.

Now, I am since last July, employed by the UAW-CIO, and I am an international representative working out of region 1-A, Joe McCloskey's office.

Mr. TAVENNER. Since the year 1948, you have held various important positions in connection with the union?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. In 1941, I was elected recording secretary of the pressed steel unit. Then I was elected to the bargaining committee and I became president of the pressed steel unit and held that office for 2 years. Then I became vice president of local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date when you became vice president? I believe you have already told us, but I do not have it.

Mr. ROMANO. I think the election that year was very long and drawn out. I think I took office around August 9, I think it was, somewhere around there, the latter part of July or the early part of August.

Mr. TAVENNER. 1948?

Mr. ROMANO. 1948; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Taft-Hartley Act went into effect in June of 1947.

Mr. ROMANO. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you became an official on August 9, 1948, were you required to sign a non-Communist affidavit for the position that you held at that time?

Mr. ROMANO. In 1949, we signed the affidavit, when the local union held an election on whether or not we were to sign the affidavits and the local union voted in favor of having the officers sign the affidavit. We signed it the early part of 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell us more definitely when that action was taken by your local?

Mr. ROMANO. It was in the early part of 1949, I think January.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that time, the non-Communist affidavits had not been signed by the members of the CIO?

Mr. ROMANO. No, not in local 600 at least.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Romano, are you at this time a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1949 when you signed the non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. ROMANO. Definitely not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had you at any time prior to that been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. I was a member of the Communist Party from the early part of 1942 through the early part of 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. So, for a period from 1942 to 1946, you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee would be interested in knowing how you were recruited into the Communist Party.

Mr. ROMANO. First of all, I would like to say this: That if you will permit me, I came here with the sole purpose, since I was called by the United States Government, to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. My only scope in coming here is, that if I can convince one of my fellow workers from my experience in the party, I will have accomplished my mission. If I can convince a hundred of them, my mission will be accomplished 100 fold.

I didn't come here to whitewash my past, or ask for any clemency from this body or the American people. The only reason I came before this body is to tell the truth.

In my opinion, I am more or less of an idealist. Naturally, by my background, it had a little to do with the question of my becoming a Communist. I can remember, and it is indelibly inscribed in my memory, the depression, and another thing that took place during that period, such as bread lines, the bonus march, and one thing and another, where I could still remember seeing people on the bread lines with their heads bowed because of the fact they had lost their pride, because when I looked into their eyes they seemed to be with no past, no future, and no present.

Also, I came in contact at that time with some fellows who fought in World War I, and who were asking for a little bit of the promise that was made to them. Of course, as we all know, the administration in Washington at that time didn't see fit to grant them what they were entitled to. All these things played an important part in this psychological make-up. Naturally, we saw the administration at that particular time being replaced by an administration which pulled the people, so to speak, by their bootstraps out of the depression and we all know the only thing we had to fear then was fear itself.

Following that, I could see that a lot could be done in terms of resolving the social and economic problems of our way of life, and when I came to Detroit, naturally, later on, I became interested in the Ford organization. You can imagine the feeling one has, especially when

even Harry Bennett claims what the conditions were at Ford, in his own book.

The conditions were no doubt terrible. And certainly it had an effect when we felt that we had the opportunity to give the people in the shop a little more of the better things of life and a little more human dignity. That played an important part at that time.

I didn't join the party at that time, because of one thing, and that was because of the Community Party of America being definitely anti-American, and certainly the 8 years in grammar school and 6 more years of schooling, certainly left its imprint insofar as my love for America was concerned.

Later on, after June 22, 1941, when Hitler attacked Russia and everything and after Pearl Harbor. I saw that the question of the Communist Party being an enemy of America, was more or less wiped out. Being as green as a pepper, so to speak, as far as political science was concerned, I joined the party, let us put it that way, in good faith. The people that were responsible, more or less for my joining the party—not that they put pressure on me in any way, shape, or form, were John Gallo and Roy Wilson. As far as I was concerned, I more or less fell in love with the slogans that they peddled at that time, such as freedom, brotherhood, democracy, peace, security, human dignity, and all the rest that are part of the Communist Party everyday slogans.

However, after a period of time, approximately 2 years or for a period of 2 years, I was very active, especially within the pressed-steel unit cell in terms of putting these things into effect.

As time went on, and after a period of 2 years, a certain incident happened which in my mind began to raise questions insofar as the honesty and sincerity of the party, in reference to the workers of America. From that time on, I began to question every policy that the Communist Party made. I found that instead of working toward resolving the needs of the working people of America, they were more interested in helping—more interested in exploiting the grievances of the people of America for the benefit of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

I also found out they were men without principle and loyalty, only, of course, to Russia. I want to make this very clear as far as I am concerned, that since after my first 2 years in the party, I began to read up avariciously the books on political science.

Only until about 6 months before I left the party did I begin to find out the real hoax that the Communist Party is trying to perpetrate, not only among the working people of America, but among working people throughout the world. I found out it was not a progressive movement. It was not a liberal movement. It was not a left movement, not definitely a Socialist movement, but it was a totalitarian movement, more so beyond the wildest dreams that Hitler ever dreamed, because the human equation was eliminated. People were to become only slaves, rather than human beings.

In my opinion, it was retrogression back to the medieval ages where people would be reduced to the status of horses, cows, and jackasses. Never during my time in the party did they criticize the Soviet Union. They used the union movement, the labor movement in America, as a cover up for their real activities in America, namely, to gain power in order to use it for the benefit of Soviet policies.

I left the party in 1945. After the CPA days, I definitely began to skip meetings and didn't show too much enthusiasm for it. A Miss Gannett from New York happened to be in town at that particular time. I was called before her—

Mr. TAVENNER. That is Betty Gannett?

Mr. ROMANO. That is right. She asked me questions as to why I wasn't as active as I was in the previous years. In order to more or less get the thing over with, I promised that I would attend meetings in the future, but my heart more or less was not in this party.

After the middle of 1945, I made up my decision to leave the party, but the question was, would I leave the party as others had left it, and start out for myself, or should I stay in the party as long as possible in order to bore from within and destroy the Frankenstein I had helped to create. I did just that. I was able to destroy the cell in the pressed steel unit over a period of 6 months.

Incidentally, in 1946, I was asked to come to a meeting downtown because Carl Winter and the rest of them wanted to talk to me. I told them that if I could make it, I would. My mind was already made up, and the next morning I was contacted and told that the party had placed me on a 6 months' probation. They told me, "Lee, don't worry about anything; we'll cooperate with you. As far as we are concerned, the only reason we are putting you on probation is because of the fact we feel you are a good guy, and you have a lot on the ball, and so forth, and so forth."

They said, "We feel that you need a little shaking up, so to speak." That is all I needed. Then we really started in earnest, disorganizing the cell in the pressed steel unit and from that time on, after the 6-months period was over, they contacted me again and asked me to join the party. I told them, definitely, "No." They said, "You know what that means?" I said, "What does it mean?" They said, "It will mean the party out here will be fighting you." I said, "If that's the case, two can play at the same game. If you guys don't give me no quarters, I'll certainly give you no quarter."

That's the way it stood from '46 on. From '46 on, I became public enemy No. 1 in the Communist Party in local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. I suppose from your experience you found it took quite a bit more courage to get out of the Communist Party than it did to get into it, in the first instance.

Mr. ROMANO. It certainly was, because of the fact that I received threatening 'phone calls, and at every opportunity, whether I was in the building or pressed steel unit or plant, or in general council meetings, I was taken over the coals by the party as a company stooge, and so forth. I underwent a terrific amount of character vilification, and so forth, of which the party is very well able to do a terrific job. I am pretty sure everybody recognizes that in the labor movement.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is just as true today, when you appear before this committee?

Mr. ROMANO. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. As it did when you took your action to break with the party back in 1946, is that not true?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. I expect that from here on, the tempo will be stepped up, no question about it. I have made up my mind regardless of what happened, to tell the truth even, I might also say, when on one occasion when they felt they couldn't bring me in line, they even

called up my wife and threatened her over the 'phone unless I kept my mouth shut. That didn't deter me in any way, shape, or form, because the records of local 600 will prove that my position has been consistent since the early part of 1946, insofar as the party is concerned.

I never cooperated with anyone who has aided and abetted the Communist Party in any way, shape, or form from that time on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Going back to the cell in the pressed steel unit, is that the cell or unit of the party to which you were assigned when you first became a member?

Mr. ROMANO. When I first became a member, I entered the membership of the Communist Party in this manner: I was told to join the IWO, and I joined that in the latter part of 1941, the IWO, which is a Communist-front organization, beyond a question of doubt, in the same way as the Boy Scouts of America might be called an American-front organization, which promotes the best interests of the United States on the one hand, the IWO promotes the best interests of the Soviet Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. What reason was assigned to you for your joining the IWO, if any?

Mr. ROMANO. The only thing I could gather was they wanted possibly to have me feel my oats to see whether I was the proper type of person to join the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it in a sense a part of your education and orientation in the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. That is what I feel it was, yes, and from there I started attending YCL meetings all over town.

Mr. TAVENNER. By "YCL" you mean Young Communist League meetings?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. Without signing any cards, making any pledges or anything, I went to the meetings. I was invited to the meetings and then I joined the Communist Party and I started to attend Communist Party meetings in the early part of 1942, without signing any pledge or without signing any cards. I don't know whether that was the regular procedure. The only time I remember getting a card was in 1943, after I had been in the thing a year. I don't know whether it was because of the fact of the honeymoon had already started that they didn't go through the proper procedure. I don't know and I never actually signed a card or made any pledge or so forth.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who issued the card to you?

Mr. ROMANO. Well, the card came through from the central office downtown. It came through to the party cell and the membership director issued the card.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the membership director?

Mr. ROMANO. The membership director of the pressed-steel unit at that time, in 1942 when we met on the west side of Junction and Michigan Avenue, was Dave Averill.

Mr. TAVENNER. I might say, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Averill has been subpoenaed as a witness and is expected to testify.

Mr. ROMANO. I might also say that he definitely quit the party in 1943.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the chairman of the party at the time? Chairman of the pressed-steel unit when you first joined the party?

Mr. ROMANO. You mean the chairman of the party?

Mr. TAVENNER. No; the chairman of the cell or unit.

Mr. ROMANO. When we first joined the cell, I might say this: That there were approximately four members in the pressed steel prior to the time that I joined, that I knew of, and at first we didn't have any chairman. We had Mrs. Ann Beiswenger running some of the meetings.

First of all, Billy Allan was running some of the meetings prior to the time he went into the Army, and then Mrs. Beiswenger. We didn't actually organize the thing on an efficient basis until the latter part of 1942. It was on a haphazard basis.

I would like to bring out this point at this time: That prior to the organization at Ford's, for which the Communist Party takes the only and the major credit for, which is a hoax just like most of the things that are involved with the party—and that is this: That had the party a strong organization it would have organized Ford long before 1941. I don't believe in my mind they had more than 50 or 60 members in the Communist Party in the Rouge plant at this particular time. They might have had a lot of fellow travelers, but not too many party members, and only half of those involved open organizational drives as volunteer organizers.

That handful might be compared to approximately the 2,000 organizers in the plant which were credited with the voluntary organizer credentials at that time. So you see they built up their propaganda machine on the basis that they were the ones responsible for it. If any one group or any one man is responsible for organization at Ford's, it was Henry Ford himself, by maintaining the conditions that he maintained during the period of his rise as a motor magnet.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the maximum number at the time of the organization of the union in Ford?

Mr. ROMANO. I would say around 50 or 60 on the over-all plant basis, and only 4 in the pressed steel meetings that I know of.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then in 1946, you left the party. What is your best judgment as to the number of Communist Party members in, let us say first, the pressed steel unit when you left the party?

Mr. ROMANO. As far as pressed steel was concerned, there were approximately, when I left, about, I should say, 25 members, but the peak was a year prior to that when they had around 37 members.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you in a position to form a reasonably accurate opinion as to the number of Communist Party members in Ford, when you left the party in 1946?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. I would say there was about 400 members at that particular time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, returning for a few minutes to the unit of pressed steel, can you tell the committee just the role that the Communist Party played in the functioning of your unit in pressed steel. First, I think the committee may properly understand that the pressed-steel unit is just a branch of the Ford industry.

Mr. ROMANO. Yes; there are 16 units in the Ford Rouge plant, and the pressed steel is one of them. There were approximately, during the war, approximately 5,000 to 6,000 people who worked in that particular unit.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the general character of the work of that unit?

Mr. ROMANO. The general character of the work of that unit is pressed stampings and making bodies, the roof tops, fenders, and welding them together prior to going to the assembly lines to be painted and so forth.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us, please, just what role the Communist Party played, if you will, in the functions of the pressed steel unit of your unit?

Mr. ROMANO. When we were organized on an efficient basis in the latter part of 1942, the cell would meet approximately every 2 or 3 weeks and discuss matters pertinent first of all, on the agenda to the party functions. That was No. 1. Discussion on decisions that were handed down from the top echelon of the party, and of course without these decisions—these decisions came down, of course, without previous consultation with the rank and file.

It was democracy in reverse, so to speak. We went through the robot actions of passing on these decisions. Anyone, of course, who deviated from the policy was called a deviationist and it was more or less of a mortal sin to even question the policies from up on top.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was democratic centralism?

Mr. ROMANO. They called it centralized democracy, is the word for it; centralized democracy. Then we discussed, of course, the press drive, the question of obtaining subscriptions to the Daily Worker, the Sunday Worker, or the Michigan Herald at that time in 1942 and 1943. I don't remember which came up, but it was the Michigan Herald. Also, in terms of press-drive petitions. They used to go out every so often to fill the coffers of the Daily Worker and the Michigan Worker. They would go out with petition soliciting donations from different people for this particular function.

Also, another phase of the agenda at these meetings was the question of education. It was taken care of by the individual who attended educational classes downtown. Then we discussed, of course, union politics within the building. How to put over our resolutions that the party were interested in at that particular time; to put them over in terms of the meetings that were held for the pressed-steel unit, UAW-CIO. There is a difference between the cell and the UAW-CIO. There we would have the officers prepared to take the floor on these particular resolutions, or any particular problem that might be to the best interest of the party at that particular time, or anything they were pushing at that particular time.

We used to spot our people in different parts of the hall so that they would be more effective.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did that have a name in this locality, the spotting?

Mr. ROMANO. No; I wouldn't say there was any name.

Mr. TAVENNER. In some places it has been referred to as the "diamond-type formation."

Mr. ROMANO. I never heard of that particular term.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee learned that within the Writers' Guild in Hollywood, that the device used was to place speakers right in front, another over to the side, and another small group over to the opposite side, and then a group in the back. That formed a diamond shape in the audience and by that method the chairman would most likely have to recognize someone from those areas. In that way they would be able to be more certain of obtaining the floor at times when it was needed.

Mr. ROMANO. That is the reason why we did it, but we never called it a diamond shape.

Mr. TAVENNER. But it is the same thing?

Mr. ROMANO. That's right; exactly the same thing.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then, if there was an occasion in which the Communist Party would be interested in having it appear that the position of the audience was almost unanimous, these people would applaud and the applause sounded as if it came from the entire audience, when actually it was only a few spotted people.

Mr. ROMANO. You have hit the nail right on the head.

Mr. TAVENNER. Those devices were used here?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. It would seem then that it is a rather common practice.

Mr. ROMANO. Those devices were common practice. After reading the God That Failed All Over the World, not only in the United States—Arthur Koestler in his memoirs explains the same thing in the agenda for the cell as practically the same, so it is a pattern in existence all over the world, not alone in Ford Rouge plant.

Mr. POTTER. Did the directives come down to the Communist Party group within your plant? I understand from your testimony that you could discuss the directives, but that you always carried out the policies that came down from up above, is that true?

Mr. ROMANO. The people in the top echelons always batted 1,000 percent.

Mr. POTTER. In other words, you had freedom of discussion, but you always had to accept the school solution?

Mr. ROMANO. That is correct.

Mr. WALTER. On the theory, the old theory, that the king can do no wrong.

Mr. ROMANO. Correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of decisions being made in advance as to how the resolutions in which the Communist Party was particularly interested, would be presented. Did that mean the selection of speakers in advance on the resolution and the various angles that would be covered by the speakers?

Mr. ROMANO. That is correct. And if one more or less received a bad reaction, then the other would step up and fill in his shoes, so to speak, and have moral support behind him, and naturally, with the rapidity and atomic reaction that would occur then, there would be no question about the ultimate solution of the problem.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like for you to express your opinion as to whether this procedure was always followed in those meetings. We have found in some situations where issues have been drawn between the Communists and non-Communists in an organization, that the Communists would have what they call their first and second teams of speakers. That they would bring out their second rate speakers first and draw the fire from the better speakers of the non-Communist group, and then after that, the Communists would bring in their first team and have virtually no opposition. Was a practice of that kind engaged in here?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. I might say this: That the role of a proper Communist or fellow traveler, or I even might dilute it a little more,

a sympathizer, is more important than the role of a Communist Party member, because a Communist Party member has to do certain duties which little by little begin to expose him; whereby he begins to expose himself and cannot very well defend his actions insofar as being an anti-Communist or non-Communist. Whereas a fellow traveler or pro-Communist is in a much better position; a much better position, because he also can deny the fact always that he is a Communist but still fight for the Communist program. That is what gives the party in the Rouge plant or local 600 the position of strength that it enjoys today, because of the role played by the pro-Communists and fellow travelers. They are the source of strength of the party. They are more dangerous than the party.

The only analogy I can use between a party member and pro-Communist or a fellow traveler, is this analogy that an automobile driver is an automobile driver, whether he has a license to drive or not. He still is an automobile driver. So actually, there is no difference between the two other than the fact that one has intestinal fortitude to join the ranks, and the other has not the intestinal fortitude to join the ranks and is not a master of his own convictions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Also, the key to the situation is the fact that his identity as a Communist Party member has not been disclosed.

Mr. ROMANO. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. If this committee can, during the course of its investigation, disclose the actual Communist Party membership of the individuals or the fact that individuals are fellow travelers, it would go a long way toward aiding the non-Communists in legitimate organizations, such as the UAW, to fight the menace of communism, would it not?

Mr. ROMANO. I would say yes, and I would add this to that: That a pro-Communist and fellow traveler works closely with the Communist Party member. First of all, the Communist Party is pressed steel—

Mr. WALTER. May I interrupt you? Do you think they realize—do the pro-Communists and fellow travelers realize that they are being the tools of the Communists or do smart Communists take advantage of the gullibility of some of these people?

Mr. ROMANO. Possibly with 2 percent, they take advantage of their gullibility, but with 98 percent, they know the score because they meet with top party echelon.

Mr. WALTER. In other words, the pro-Communists and fellow travelers, are to all intents and purposes as dangerous as Communists, the only difference being that they do not have the nerve to take the step which brings them a card.

Mr. ROMANO. That's right. As I was saying, at pressed steel level we had our Communist cell and then we had what we call, or what might be referred here to, as a progressive caucus. The party cell would meet on the question of discussing different problems relative to elections in the local building of pressed steel officers, and also, for election of delegates to conventions, and we would pool our strength in terms of electing the particular delegates.

In other words, it would act in the same manner that the cell was a core of this particular caucus and they mastered the situation at all times, and the fringe pro-Communists and fellow travelers and the

few disgruntled people who were part of this caucus were led by the central core, the party cell itself, and naturally, it became a big group of people in this particular pressed-steel building and worked the same way on the local level, where the party cell in the local level dominated the progressive caucus of local 600, where they met prior to the progressive caucus in party caucus to discuss who was going to run for this, for that, and for the other thing.

I might bring up a very elucidating example of what I mean. Back in 1942, prior to the time that William Allan went into the Army, we had the election in 1942, the first election we had in 1942 after our organizational drive. We promoted, and the party at that time was arguing within caucus, within party caucus, as to who should be the top man; who should be the president of the local, the candidate for president and candidate for vice president, and so forth.

For some unknown reason, Pat Rice was chosen as the standard bearer of that particular year. I was chosen trustee for that particular period.

Mr. POTTER. You were chosen by the Progressive Party caucus?

Mr. ROMANO. We discussed that within the party caucus first. A certain Percy Llewelyn was selected as vice president. Neither of the two individuals, of course, was present at the party caucus. The question came up, because of the fact that Percy Llewelyn had a militant background during the organizational drive, he was the logical guy from a political standpoint to support. Billy Allan said no, "because of the fact we believe Percy Llewelyn to be a company stooge."

Being as green as a pepper, I got up and asked, "If you think he is a company stooge, then he is going to be just as dangerous in a second spot, as in the first spot." He says, "No, Bill McKie is assigned full-time to take care or orient Brother Pat Price. He will see to it he does not make any deviationist moves."

Mr. TAVENNER. He would build a fence around him, in other words?

Mr. ROMANO. That's right. Then, when we decided on the slate, all of us, of course, responded to the call of the plant-wide caucus and it was just a question of time as to the final results. We were always able, in this particular part of the campaign in 1942 anyway, to put over our slate 100 percent.

Mr. POTTER. Did the men in the shop, the rank and file of the men, know that the Communist Party was directing this activity or directing this slate of men as officers in the union, or what type of propaganda was used to convince the men that that slate of officers should receive their votes?

Mr. ROMANO. Well, of course, the people in the shop—you asked a question first about whether they knew the party was leading—what part the party was playing in the question of bringing about a slate. Well, as far as the people—that is at least 95 percent of them—they didn't know anything about it, with the exception possibly of the party members, the sympathizers and fellow travelers and so forth. They knew what was going on. These caucuses at most only comprised 200 or 300 people where these final deliberations on the caucus took place.

Then, of course, you went on a campaign the same as the Republicans and Democrats. Once they choose a caucus in convention, they go out in the same methods, in terms of literature, propaganda, and try to point up your candidate as the most logical who will serve the best interests of the working people.

Mr. POTTER. As I understand it, there is a right-wing and a left-wing slate normally, is that true, when you select your officers?

Mr. ROMANO. In the early organization of our union, that was true. It was strictly right and left wing and nobody else had a chance. An independent didn't have a chance. He didn't have the machine behind him.

Mr. POTTER. Did the right wing accuse the left wing of being Communist-dominated during the election, and did the left wing accuse the right wing of being Fascist?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. POTTER. What methods were used by the so-called left wing to counteract it?

Mr. ROMANO. The same method as is used all over, the weapon of company stooges call us Communists; the FBI calls us Communists; the Un-American Activities calls us Communists; and so forth right down the line.

And Walter Reuther—incidentally, this is the first time I come across his name and never have I attended a party meeting on a cell, building, or a plant basis, even downtown when I was a member of the executive board downtown, did they ever miss crucifying or vilifying or character assassinating of Walter Reuther. He was the No. 1 public enemy within the UAW-CIO for the Communist Party, and that's for sure.

Mr. JACKSON. They called you Communists and you called them Facists?

Mr. ROMANO. That is correct.

Mr. JACKSON. And there was no middle ground where an objective observer could take a position?

Mr. ROMANO. That is right, until later years in local 600, where, in 1946, after I quit the party, we dissolved the cell—not dissolved it completely, but it was more or less useless because they never got anybody elected in pressed steel from that time onward to any convention or any other major office within the unit, with the exception of vice president one time in the unit.

In 1946, after the open fight with the party, I began to work twice as hard as when I was in the party, in order to beat it at its own game, and we were successful in orientating 90 percent of the leadership on our side. We formed a middle-of-the-road group at that particular time, and then we went in to the progressive caucus which was holding meetings at Twelfth and Clairmount, called the Twelfth Street caucus, as everybody referred to it.

Over a period of 6 or 7 months we destroyed that particular effectiveness of that particular caucus with the help of 3 or 4 other fellows, and Thompson, president at that time—we were able to form a middle-of-the-road caucus which rode to victory, defeating both the right wing and left wing. The left wing, incidentally, ran third in that particular year, 1948.

Mr. POTTER. When you speak of "left wing" of the progressive caucus, I assume you mean the Communist members.

Mr. ROMANO. I mean, to an individual like myself who has studied a little about political science, "left wing" is certainly a misnomer as far as and with respect to the Communist Party. It is more right wing, more Fascist than Hitler himself ever was, and that's for sure.

Mr. POTTER. From your statement, apparently, at that time you had, in the so-called progressive caucus—is that not the word you used?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. POTTER. That you had in your Communist and non-Communist groups, groups which were opposing each other within that one caucus.

Mr. ROMANO. That's right. Then another thing too: At this particular stage, after we were elected in 1948—after I was elected in 1948 in the fall of that year, we had this election.

Mr. POTTER. You were elected what?

Mr. ROMANO. In the fall of 1948, I think probably December, we started this fight on the Taft-Hartley law about having the officers sign the affidavits. Of course, the party opposed the situation because of the fact that it had two of its members, admitted members, Bill McKie who was a trustee at that time, and Gallo who was a guide at that time. They opposed it on that basis.

The strange thing about the Taft-Hartley law is the party never, during executive board meetings or council meetings, at the inception of the drive of the Taft-Hartley law, never opposed it. The only time they started opposing the Taft-Hartley law is when the amendment or rider was added and all Communists had to sign Communist affidavits. That is the only time they started coming out foursquare against the Taft-Hartley law. The reason for that is very clear. They are in favor of repressive legislation against labor in this country, so they can have more reasons to exploit the grievances of people so that the Soviet Union can pick it up and use it in their grinder for propaganda through every country of the world; that the United States is opposed to labor movements, is opposed to the honest aspirations of the working people in America, and so forth. I am pretty sure you people know pretty well their type of propaganda.

Mr. POTTER. I am interested in knowing the work of the so-called fraction, which I believe they called it; is that not true? Members of the Communist Party that met first and then endeavored to influence the mass organization of which they belonged through the efforts, concerted efforts of the fraction.

While you were a member of the party, was the work of your fraction very successful?

Mr. ROMANO. In the pressed-steel unit it was very successful. I can remember from 1945 onward, nobody else could get anybody elected even for dog catcher in that place, until 1946.

Mr. POTTER. In other words, the fraction was running the show?

Mr. ROMANO. That's for sure. We could have run Jim Jones from Timbuktu, and he would have gotten elected. That is how efficient the machine became. When I once broke the party, it turned the other way around. I might say at this point for your information, that the party certainly never helped us to any extent in pressed-steel unit. We helped the party because of its role during the war and we had to apologize every day for its action and only through the hard work of contacting people—and you people know how it can be done, just as well as I can, because you are in a position, being in politics—only through hard work and constant contact of people were we able to maintain that particular status.

Mr. POTTER. You would work with a singleness of purpose whereas non-Communists, many times, divert their efforts?

Mr. ROMANO. That is right. One of the examples the party used all the time was, "Always throw a little pebble in the other guy's camp and before you know it they will be throwing rocks at each other."

Mr. JACKSON. In other words, divide and conquer.

Mr. ROMANO. No truer words were said.

Mr. TAVENNER. You referred to the work of the progressive caucus in 1948, I believe, and how it resulted in the breaking of the Communist Party organization at that time, if I understood you correctly.

Mr. ROMANO. No. I did not say the progressive caucus broke the Communist Party at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understood you to say by taking a large number of people into the progressive caucus—

Mr. ROMANO. You mean out of the progressive caucus.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand into the progressive caucus with the result that the Communist Party came out third best in the voting.

Mr. ROMANO. In 1948, or rather by the latter part of 1947, we were able to start a middle-of-the-road, or what they call a mugwump caucus which broke way from the progressive caucus. That is, a large group of us spearheaded by myself and three other people, because we were sick and tired of dictation from the top.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is what I am referring to.

Mr. ROMANO. We broke away from them and they were left with the actual pro-Communists who were left in their ranks, plus party members, and they ran third at that particular year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Therefore, the key probably to successful opposition to the Communist Party is just to outvote them?

Mr. ROMANO. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. In your meetings?

Mr. ROMANO. That's right. You see, we withdrew from the progressive caucus and it took them about 2 years to start to mend their fences. It took them 2 years to mend their fences, that is, from 1948 to 1950.

Mr. Wood. By that, do you mean to say at the present time the Communist influence in local 600 is sufficiently strong to dominate the policy of the organization?

Mr. ROMANO. I say at this time that the Communist Party, through its progressive caucus and through its present unity move within the local union, has the greatest influence of any time in local 600, because it controls the general council, it controls the executive board, it controls the arm of propaganda, the Ford Facts, by indirect action and completely controls it.

I also might add on the Taft-Hartley thing, that we were successful in the election, when it was presented to the rank and file and the rank and file voted by a majority of almost 3 to 1, ordering its officers to sign the affidavits. The two people who were on the staff of officers, the nine officers, were forced to resign because they refused to sign the Communist affidavit. In that sense, the Taft-Hartley Act gave us a little success, let us put it that way. But from that point on, after defeat in local 600, no longer did the party adopt the policy of having the members refuse to sign the affidavits and it is a matter of record in the Daily Worker and the Michigan Worker, that many of its members resigned from the Communist Party, officially resigned from the Communist Party, in order to keep in office

and still sign the affidavit without putting them beyond the repercussions from the law.

Mr. POTTER. At the same time they are carrying out the policies of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. They say so right in black and white, it is a matter of record.

Mr. POTTER. In other words, they are resigning from the Communist Party just as a hoax?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. As an individual put it, just to be able to sign the affidavits without going to jail.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Romano, may I ask one question? Would you care to estimate at the present time the strength, the actual Communist Party strength—and I realize that it would have to be a rough estimate—the strength of the party actually, the pro-Communists, the fellow travelers as you put it, those with driver's licenses and those without driver's licenses, in local 600?

Mr. ROMANO. The party members themselves, I do not think they have more than 150 or 175 at the most, and I doubt if they have that much, but between them and the others I would say that there are approximately a couple of thousand of them.

Mr. JACKSON. A couple of thousand who may be depended upon to follow the Communist Party line?

Mr. ROMANO. That is right, about a couple of thousand of them.

Mr. WOOD. And you always find them pretty militant, do you not?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes; very militant, militant in terms of fighting for the policies of the Soviet Union.

Mr. WOOD. That is what I am talking about.

Mr. ROMANO. But not fighting for the real needs of the workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of officeholders resigning from the Communist Party in order that they may sign the non-Communist affidavit because of fear or likelihood of criminal prosecution.

Do you know whether Olga Zenchuck did that very thing, and announced that that was her purpose?

Mr. ROMANO. That is right. It is a matter of record in the Michigan Worker.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of several officers refusing to sign the non-Communist affidavit and resigning for that reason. Did you mean resigning from their positions in the union, or resigning from the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. They resigned their positions in the union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Rather than sign it?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. Since that time, no other local union in the country, where they had the same situation, did they allow them to resign. They only allowed them to resign from the party, rather than resign from their office in the union. They made a mistake at Ford and they recognized it and corrected it.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was one of the first moves?

Mr. ROMANO. That was one of the first moves.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were those who resigned from the union—

Mr. ROMANO. From union office?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; rather than sign the non-Communist affidavit.

Mr. ROMANO. John Gallo and Bill McKie.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned a few moments ago that the influence of the Communist Party on the council was great. What do you refer to when you say "the council"?

Mr. ROMANO. The general council of local 600 is similar to the Congress of the United States, and gentlemen, it is exactly the same. What the Congress of the United States is to the United States, the general council of local 600 is to local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, it is made up of representatives from the different buildings or units?

Mr. ROMANO. One representative for every 400 people. They are elected once a year. They are the top policy-making body between membership meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. We have had testimony here during the course of these hearings as to a conference which was held by the Communist Party in 1950, at which Max Chait announced before the convention or during the convention that the Communist Party controlled the general council at that time.

Did I understand you to say a few minutes ago that you believed they controlled it now? I am not certain that I understood you that way.

Mr. ROMANO. I didn't say the Communist Party controlled it now. I said the Communist Party controls it within—with the aid of the progressive caucus and unity caucus in existence today in local 600. They control it completely and overwhelmingly at the present time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Max Chait?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes, I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes; he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have told us in considerable detail the operation and method of operation of the Communist Party within present steel unit of the Ford Motor Co.

Now, was there any great significance to Communist Party activities beyond the pressed steel unit from the standpoint of your particular cell of the party, I mean, did it have influence outside of the pressed steel?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes; it did. Its influence became stronger when it united with the rest of the cells and units in the plant and formed one big caucus, which met on different occasions, possibly when hot issues had come up before the council of transcending importance and other issues, like for example, conventions is another point where they got together and used their influence.

I might point out this: I remember very distinctly that when the second-front resolution—rather when the second-front drums were beating throughout the Nation, that in 1942 at Muskegon, at the State CIO convention, I attended a party caucus the night prior to the beginning of the convention where the most important thing in the convention was not the election of officers any more during this period—during this period, the election of officers was not important—the question of promoting good will between Russia and the United States was of transcending importance and to promote the pet issues of the Soviet Union which at that time was a second front in the fall of 1942—we discussed that very thoroughly. We were

also told that we were going to get pretty unanimous support from everybody in the convention, if that meant anything, because of the fact that the party, for the first time in its history, was relegating the election of officers for the State CIO in the background to a secondary position and putting the second front as the No. 1 issue of the convention.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which was a foreign policy of a foreign power?

Mr. ROMANO. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which the Communist Party was endeavoring to get the workers in the Ford industry behind?

Mr. ROMANO. Not only the Ford industry, but the State CIO and the UAW.

Mr. JACKSON. And which at that time was contrary to the best interests militarily of the United States of America. It can be shown affirmatively that it was not to our best interests at that time, but irrespective of that, the Communist International was bringing pressure to change the policy through the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. TAVENNER. And it was endeavoring to do so with the rank and file workers in the Ford Motor Co., of which you were a member.

Mr. ROMANO. That is right. This thing hadn't reached its climax yet, because in 1943—and this points up the negative, the betraying role of the Communist Party during the war effort, as far as the labor movement was concerned—it begins to point up from that point on, which I would like to explain at this particular time.

In 1943 we held a convention in Buffalo, a UAW convention, and this involved all the local unions in the country. The main objection at this convention, at which I was a member, was the second front No. 1 and No. 2, was the incentive pay issue at that particular time.

The reason I point that up was because of the fact that today its program is not toward more production in America, but less production in America, and that is in 1943. The party was almost able to put through, with the help of some of the officers of the UAW, mind you, this piecework program. Piecework is something that the workers in America have always bitterly fought against with everything they had in them. They promoted a piecework plan, an incentive plan, in order to increase production so that of course Russia would get more material and so forth.

We almost succeeded with the help of one of the officers within the UAW, and with such floor leaders as Catafio of Allis-Chalmers, and Nat Ganley; we almost succeeded in putting it through. It had to come to a vote. After Frankensteen spoke in favor of it, it possibly would have passed, and most of the pressed steel delegation breathed a sigh of relief that it didn't, because we would have a heck of a situation back home, going back to tell them we voted for it, even though we did vote for it, because the question of piecework was now a reality in the UAW. It was fought bitterly and is one of the points the UAW was organized to eliminate, piecework and sweatshop conditions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the floor leader to whom you referred a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Catafio?

Mr. TAVENNER. You did not mention his name.

Mr. ROMANO. One of the officers. No, I don't recall him ever being a member of the party. In fact, they probably used him in this particular issue to speak in favor of the incentive pay plan.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Catafio known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. He was always touted as one of the glamour boys, let's put it that way, but I never sat in meetings with him or anything like that; no. We didn't have a mass caucus at UAW conventions, the same as at Muskegon where we did.

Mr. POTTER. Was this issue decided upon before you went to the convention, by the Communist Party here in Detroit, namely, that first would be the second front, which would be the main issue, and secondly, the incentive pay? Were you all prepared for this before you went to the convention?

Mr. ROMANO. I might add this: That the incentive pay was issue No. 1, and the second front, if I recall correctly now, was already passed by the executive board of the UAW at that time. It came up as a resolution anyway. The incentive pay was handed down, not by the top echelon in Detroit, but by the top echelon in New York; by Browder and his statements in the Daily Worker where he called for incentive pay as a means of increasing production to stave off the horde of Hitlerism and so forth.

Mr. PORTER. Did you get your directive before you went to the convention?

Mr. ROMANO. That is right. We met in party caucus before we left the city. But you see, in that day, they were waving two flags. In one hand they were waving the American flag and in the other hand the Soviet flag. Today, they are only waving the Soviet flag. They have dropped the American flag for the 30-hour week, because everybody knows in America that although we may have a problem in Detroit, in most of the key centers of industry there is a shortage of manpower.

The only reason they promote it, and they promoted it long before local 600 promoted it and came out in the papers 3 or 4 months prior to local 600 adopting that policy; that of the 30-hour week, which was headlined in the Daily Worker and the Michigan Worker—

Mr. PORTER. Conditions are much different today than they were at the time you mentioned as far as the Communist Party program is concerned. Today, when production is needed for our defense in order to combat and contain international communism throughout the world, the Communist Party position is to cut down on our defense production. I do not believe you will find the Communist Party today advocating the incentive pay, is that not true?

Mr. ROMANO. That's for sure.

Mr. PORTER. Because this happens to be in defense of our own country rather than an aid to the Soviet Union.

Mr. ROMANO. That is the point I am trying to point up during this interview here. That the needs of the American working people are not important. They are to be exploited for the superimposed needs of the Soviet Union. In other words, the American people are made out as pawns to be exploited for their needs and not for the needs of the American people, and that's for sure.

Mr. WALTER. How successful has the Communist Party been in bringing about a curtailment of the workweek?

Mr. ROMANO. Well, they have not been successful in that because the people objected to that themselves, with the high cost of living and everything concerned, the more hours you put in, the much better and much easier it is to buy the commodities and necessities of life.

Mr. WALTER. Because of that resistance, did the Communist Party abandon its program of the shorter week?

Mr. ROMANO. No. They asked for a 30-hour week with 40 hours' pay. That is something everybody desires. Every worker in America desires it. I desire it and I imagine you gentlemen desire it—to work less hours, if possible, and still maintain an equilibrium insofar as your living is concerned, your standards are concerned. Everybody wants that and we know that.

The only thing is, they point up these things and fan this hysteria which they claim this committee is raising. They are master "hysteriaists"—if that's the word, although I never used it in that way before. They are masters at hysteria. They know that by creating this hysteria, which meets the needs and desires of the people, that they are able to drum up enough agitation for this particular program. They don't say they want a 30-hour week with 30 hours' pay. No, they are for 30 hours a week with 40 hours' pay.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Romano, you were a member of the party during the days prior to the Communist Political Association and through the days of the Communist Political Association, and then for a short time thereafter, were you not?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what happened to the organizational strength of the Communist Party units in the Ford buildings, with the formation of the Communist Political Association.

Mr. ROMANO. The Communist Political Association was formed in the spring of 1944, at a convention in New York, at which convention were in attendance delegates from practically every country in the Western Hemisphere.

This convention followed the meeting at Teheran between Roosevelt, Churchill, and Chiang Kai-shek later on, I understand. Because of that conference, the party felt that they must change their strategy if they were to gain their ultimate goals as soon as possible. Earl Browder put out a pamphlet of some 20 or 30 pages analyzing the decisions at Teheran, and the decision that was being made in reference to the dissolution of the Communist Party as such and the formation of the Communist Political Association, at that time.

Naturally, there were repercussions in the party and some of the more militant party members fell away, but most of them remained and their places were taken by many more who joined the ranks because of this change of policy within the Communist Party.

That brings me up to the point where a year later, the party or the Communist Political Association was dissolved. During this period of the Communist Political Association, the cells, the industrial cells as we talked about them up to this point, were dissolved. We no longer met on a basis of a pressed-steel unit. We no longer met on the basis, as we did before in the plant, unless for some important problem or issue that came up that was to be discussed in the general council or somewhere else. The only time—that was the only time I recall we used to meet, but very, very rarely however.

During that period of about 15 months, we met instead—we organized instead the community cells which were not only on a basis of industrial cells, but included housewives, included people who owned their own living through probably small business, barber shops, and one thing and another; the regular rank and file people, so to speak, not the professionals. These community cells met on a community basis and I was assigned to Delray cell, which met at Petofi Hall on the corner of West End and West Jefferson.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the geographical location of the members have anything to do with the cell to which they were assigned?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. The people in that down-river section of Detroit were assigned to the Delray branch. Then they had several other branches, Northwest, Midtown, Fred Douglas branch, and I don't know what the exact regional delineations were at that time but they had quite a few branches all over the city.

The first meeting that I attended of the Delray branch—

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, let me suggest that this is a good place to have a recess.

Mr. Wood. The committee will stand in recess for about 15 minutes.
(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. Wood. Let us have order, please.

Proceed, Mr. Council.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the beginning of the recess, you were telling us about the formation of the Communist community clubs on a geographic basis and your assignment to one of those clubs, and you were just about to tell us about your activity in that club, the Delray Club.

Mr. ROMANO. Well, when we held our first meeting at the Delray Club, we were faced with a dilemma at the beginning of the meeting because there was no one to take over the chairmanship of the club. I think there were about seven or eight of us present at that particular time, and already, in the middle of 1944 because of certain events, I had begun to lose faith, so to speak, in the Communist Party or Communist Political Association as a force for good within the labor movement in America.

Everybody was looking at each other to see who was going to be chairman. It seemed that nobody wanted to be, least of all myself. Eventually, I was drafted in order to get the meeting started. I told them before I started, that I didn't care to be chairman of the club and that I would officiate for this particular time.

As it happened, I more or less inherited, by default, and I continued in that capacity until the dissolution of the Communist Political Association. During that period as chairman of that club, I automatically became part of the executive board of the Communist Political Association, as it is now called—that is thinking in terms of 1944—part of the executive board of the Communist Political Association in the city of Detroit, at which chairmen and secretaries of other clubs attended.

We discussed policies in the usual manner from the top down.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any change in the method of the approach to those problems than that which it had been during the period of the Communist Party itself?

Mr. ROMANO. The difference was that they did not have probably the atmosphere—the atmosphere was different in view of the fact that

all of the people in the club were not factory workers. We didn't discuss factory politics. But we discussed the same agenda that was used with that exception, in terms of mobilizing for scrap drives and blood drives, and so forth.

At this particular time, Russia's foreign policy demanded complete cooperation with the United States for the complete annihilation of the Hitler hordes, as they put it. We worked in terms—as I said, I didn't go into this thing with effectiveness and with the enthusiasm that I did at first. The club didn't grow as rapidly as it possibly could have, had I worked at it in a similar manner. We didn't recruit too many members. We didn't accomplish too much, other than in terms of pointing up the issues of the war to the people and the needs of the country in terms of bringing about a complete and successful solution to the war effort.

At one time, the Communist Political Association—during the Communist Political Association period, I was asked by David White to function as an educational director for the State of Michigan.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was David White known by a nickname, do you recall?

Mr. ROMANO. Not that I know of.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was his middle name McKelvey?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes, that is his middle name. I refused to accept the assignment on the basis that I had too much work to do in the shop for one thing, and another, I couldn't devote my time and couldn't see my way clear in devoting any time to something like that, when I knew I couldn't fulfill it. But the real reason I didn't want to become involved any deeper than I had become at this particular time is because it functioned on the same basis as the industrial cell with the exception of the politics, which was not brought into it at all, outside of the question of international politics.

Mr. TAVENNER. That brings me to this question: What was the purpose, the over-all purpose, as you understood it, in establishing the Communist Political Association and the temporary abandonment of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. As I said before, the Communist Political Association was formed after Teheran, and at this meeting, according to the analysis of Earl Browder in his pamphlet, Teheran and After, he pointed up the fact that we were entering into a new phase in the world and that the free peoples of the world who were fighting a war for liberation must work closer together. We must break down the barriers that were in existence prior to Teheran. That now we had had a rapprochement between the United States, England, China, and the rest of the freedom-loving nations and we should do everything possible to work with them.

However, in my opinion, the real reason for it was that they thought, through cooperation, they could get a better settlement after the war because after Teheran they knew that Hitler's days were numbered and the all-important thing was the best possible peace negotiation between the Soviet Union and the United States, whereby the Soviet Union would materially, shall we say, become more powerful in terms of territory; in terms of extending its influence throughout the world.

In my opinion, it was more or less of a Trojan horse to put their "capitalist enemies," so to speak, at peace with the party and bore from

within in terms of bringing about a lion's share, insofar as Russia was concerned, of the over-all world picture.

Mr. POTTER. In that objective, they were very successful?

Mr. ROMANO. They were very successful. They stood ready to sell out the labor movement completely from top to bottom to do it.

Mr. JACKSON. Didn't these frequent right-angle changes of direction cause a certain amount of consternation? All the comrades would be moving in one direction and then overnight things would change and they would have to do an about-face? Did their momentum carry them on for a few days before they would catch up and turn around and start back in the other direction? I am talking about the Duclos letter and the Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact.

Mr. ROMANO. The Duclos letter, in my opinion—Duclos was picked, of course, by the Kremlin to start the machine in reverse because he was an old party warhorse who did everything that the party wanted done, even more so than Maurice Thorez, who was titular head of the party at that particular time in France. That was the reason for that particular letter by Duclos or picking him to write the letter.

As far as Browder was concerned, he was the man upon whom fell the abuse, the vilification as a traitor to the revolution of the working classes of the world. He was made the goat of the whole thing, because in my opinion, when the delegates from South America, Central America, attended in 1944 the founding convention of the Communist Political Association, they did not go there at the expressed request of Earl Browder. They went there because they got orders from the Kremlin, and no other place. They wouldn't go there because they wouldn't take orders from Browder. They would only take orders from on top. That is why I say that Browder was made the goat in this particular thing.

Coming down below, we found, too, that a lot of the top leaders at that time were put on ice, so to speak, to make the thing look on the up-and-up. Pat Toohey was shipped back, for example, somewhere East. Mrs. Beiswenger was put on ice and in wraps for a year or two in order to make it look palatable to most of the people within the Communist Political Association, and that this was an honest move. That Browder had steered Uncle Joe wrong, if that could be possible, and so forth and so on.

One thing they always taught us in the party was to never be an emotionalist and to be a realist. The man of steel from the Kremlin was the biggest realist of them all, and no question about it. For a little guy like Earl Browder to fool him was not in the cards at any stage of the game.

Mr. POTTER. Was there any doubt expressed by the members of the party who were one day praising Browder, and then after the Duclos letter, had to come out and see all the abuse piled on him? Was there any consternation on the part of the individual party members?

Mr. ROMANO. For a period of a few months, there was a lot of confusion in the party, to say the least. But they were able to pick up the loose ends and continue once more on their international agitation program, which began in the early part of 1946. It did not start really getting momentum in the early part of 1946, when I became disassociated with them completely.

Mr. TAVERNEN. What occurred in the organizational set-up of the Communist Party after the abolition of the Communist Political Association?

Mr. ROMANO. After the abolition of the Communist Political Association in July of 1945, for a couple of months, as I said before, there was confusion. But then we were ordered back to reorganize ourselves within the factories and to organize them in the same fashion as we previously had them organized prior to the founding of the Communist Political Association, and we continued from there. That didn't take place, however, until about November of that particular year. It took several months to get back and get the wheels turning in the proper direction again.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would be interested to know if there were any considerable number of Communist Party members in 1944, who became members of the Communist Political Association and who refused to come back into the Communist Party in response to the directions and the change from Browder to the Communist Party.

Mr. ROMANO. The Communist Party in America gained its greatest membership during the period of the Communist Political Association, because the doors were thrown right open and anybody could join. They didn't ask him any questions or anything. They didn't ask them who they were or where they were coming from. If Henry Ford II wanted to join, it was O. K. as far as they were concerned. Anybody could join the Communist Political Association with no restrictions or bars made, insofar as membership was concerned. Through that method they were able to gain the highest peak in membership in the Communist Party of America.

Mr. JACKSON. They were even taking in FBI agents, were they not?

Mr. ROMANO. That is quite obvious.

Mr. WALTER. What was the maximum strength of the Communist Political Association?

Mr. ROMANO. During that period?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. ROMANO. Close to 100,000 I would say, approximately. But a lot of people fell away during that period who came back after the line changed again, because these old-time party members who had been in it for years, since 1919 and 1920, did not like the Communist Political Association deal at all and couldn't go for it.

Mr. POTTER. They did not believe in the principle that the Soviet Union and the United States could coexist?

Mr. ROMANO. You couldn't orientate them after 20 or 30 years. You couldn't reorientate them that fast. It had been pounded in their heads that the enemies of the working people were the capitalist class, and so on and so on. You know the dialectics used in terms of defending the role of the working man against the capitalist democracy, as they put it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you return to a cell in Pressed Steel?

Mr. ROMANO. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were the Communist Party cells reorganized in the other buildings or units of the Ford Motor Co. on the same basis that they had been before the Political Association, the Communist Political Association, was established?

Mr. ROMANO. That is right, sir. In other words, we went back to the same status.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, I would like to ask you regarding the Communist Party membership of certain individuals, and in asking about

these names, some of them are persons who occupy important positions in the union. The fact that I am asking you about them does not necessarily mean that the committee has any information to the effect that they are members of the party. In other words, the fact that I am asking you the question should bear no connotation of Communist Party membership. We are anxious to know to what extent—and it is very important for us to know to what extent—that the Communist Party has been successful in infiltrating into important positions in the union.

When I ask you about these names, I would ask, if you know any of them were members of the Communist Party, to tell the committee the circumstances under which you know it. And I would ask you that you be specific about your answers. If you are in doubt, say that you do not know.

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think I should also say that in the event you identify any of these individuals as members of the Communist Party and you know that they have now left the Communist Party, as a matter of fairness, you should say so.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Chairman, before the witness answers the question, I think it ought to be very definitely understood that anybody's name, or anybody whose name is mentioned at this time, should be afforded plenty of opportunity to come before the committee and make any statements they care to make in connection with the allegations that will be made here.

Mr. Wood. That has been a rule of the committee for some time, which was announced here last week, I believe, or rather the week before last during the course of our original hearings here. It is the policy of this committee to afford any person who is mentioned in connection with membership in the Communist Party or any other subversive organization—to have a perfect right to ask to be heard, and they will be heard before the committee; and to make any denials or explanations they see fit in connection with it. That rule still exists.

Mr. TAVENNER. I assume, Mr. Chairman, in making that statement, you are referring to the right of a person who is named by a witness as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Wood. That is what I am talking about; named by a witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position does Carl Stellato hold in local 600?

Mr. ROMANO. He is president of local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has he ever been a member of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. ROMANO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether a person by the name of Joe Hogan ran for the position or became a candidate for the position of president of local 600?

Mr. ROMANO. He did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he ever known to you as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. No, other than to say he had been a very active member of the progressive caucus.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did Pat Rice hold in the—

Mr. ROMANO. He is—

Mr. TAVENNER. In the union, local 600?

Mr. ROMANO. He is vice president of local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known, at any time, by you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. No, although he is also an active member of the progressive caucus, and Bill McKie was assigned to him, according to William Allan, to see that he got the proper orientation. He knows what the score is.

Mr. WALTER. He is in the category which you described as being pro-Communist?

Mr. ROMANO. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. We have learned, in the course of our investigation, that William R. Hood was recording secretary of local 600. Was he known to be a member of the Communist Party at any time?

Mr. ROMANO. I recollect an incident that happened way back in 1948, when myself, Hood, and Thompson were working closely together, and he made a very blistering speech against the Communist Party, because of an issue in the plant at that particular time. On the subsequent issue of the Michigan Worker, the party, under the column Auto Town Alley, if I remember correctly issued a blistering statement against him, notifying their party members that William R. Hood, a renegade from the party, was no longer to be trusted, and et cetera, et cetera, et cetera, right down the line. The next day, which was Monday after—I read this 2 days later; I read it on Saturday; it comes out on Saturday—I greeted William R. Hood as an ex-comrade, and he agreed that he was, "But, we know how to fight those so-and-so's."

I want to point out, at this time, for the information of my ex-comrades who are so easy with their smear and vilification, that it wasn't the first time that stool pigeons have informed on ex-Communist Party members. On many occasions, in their publications, they refer to me as ex-Communist, and to Dave Averill as ex-Communist, and other derogatory remarks, so when it comes to stool pigeons, informers, and spies, they work on a 24-hour basis for the Soviet Union as such without pay. So, when they throw that word at me, and if they say that I am a stool pigeon because I believe in the honest aspirations of the working people of America, then I want my name to be on the top of the stool pigeons who work for the true aspirations of the working people of America. That is how I knew about Bill Hood. He left the party, but his actions in the past year are certainly not those of an honest and sincere ex-party member.

Mr. TAVENNER. What group was it that you referred to that published in the Ford Facts the article in the Worker, the article under the heading of the "Old Timers"?

Mr. ROMANO. Auto Town Alley.

Mr. TAVENNER. By the Old Timers?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the identity of the Old Timers?¹

Mr. ROMANO. As far as I know, as far as I could gather, the editor, or the fellow who writes that, from my knowledge—I couldn't prove it, but I give credence to my source—is William Allan.

Mr. WALTER. Who is William Allan? I have heard his name mentioned several times.

¹ According to committee investigation, "Auto Town Alley" is authored by Nat Ganley.

Mr. ROMANO. He is the Michigan editor for the Daily Worker and the Michigan Worker, and, also, he was in charge of the Ford cell prior to going into the Army, and the other cells within the auto industry; although he never worked or was a part of the auto industry at any time as a worker, to my knowledge, at least, at Ford's; he never was a worker at Ford's.

Mr. TAVENNER. He is the person who makes the official announcements of the Communist Party in Michigan?

Mr. ROMANO. I don't know if he is that, unless title doesn't mean a thing. I always thought Carl Winter was the chief, and, I wouldn't, at this time, attempt to divide Carl Winter and William Allan as to who is the big boss.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Romano, I have before me a copy of a page from the Worker, of December 19, 1948, in which I see under the column known as Auto Town Alley this paragraph:

Hood is a renegade from the Communist and progressive movements, who was elected to his present post on the Tommy Thompson slate last spring.

Is that the article to which you refer?

Mr. ROMANO. That is right, if my memory serves me right.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand it to you and ask you to say whether or not, after glancing at it, that it is the article you refer to.

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. I might point out, too, that after this—the following election, the election following this article, which took place 2 months later—we were able to form a coalition of all the right-wing forces, slowly, but surely. My aim was to orientate our people to an anti-Communist position, and try to involve all the anti-Communist people in Ford Local 600 to attack the inroads or any offensive that the party might put up. During the period of that article, certain individuals were imported from New York; a fellow by the name of Schatz and a fellow by the name of Jackson were imported to strengthen or build up the weakening forces of the Communist Party within Ford Local. By joining in a movement with all anti-Communist leaders in local 600, we were able to give the party, in 1949, the greatest defeat that it has ever faced within local 600. Thompson beat his opponent, Racey, by a majority of over 10,000 votes at that time. The main issue in that election was the question of communism. The great majority of the people in Ford Local 600 are honest American working people.

Mr. WALTER. How many votes did Racey get?

Mr. ROMANO. Somewhere in the neighborhood of 13,000.

Mr. WALTER. Would that indicate the number of fellow travelers, pro-Communists, and Communists?

Mr. ROMANO. No. I want to tell you why. In the history of local 600, from the time of its organization, unfortunately, the newspapers indicated the strike as Communist-dominated, which was the farthest thing from the truth, because it was a grass-roots rebellion against conditions at Ford Motor Co.; and because of this—people going about the country designating workers as Communists who really weren't Communists—the people became confused over a period of time, honestly and sincerely confused about the real issues facing the workers, insofar as communism was concerned—who was and who wasn't, who helped and who didn't, and so forth. Also, the policy of the local 600 played an important part in confusing the people, be-

cause people who would be rabidly anti-Communist, for political consideration would support communism at different times to support their own aspirations. However, the people, despite that fact, an overwhelming majority voted against the party slate at that time.

Mr. WALTER. The 13,000 votes isn't particularly significant?

Mr. ROMANO. No.

Mr. JACKSON. What percentage of the total membership of local 600 voted in that election?

Mr. ROMANO. A majority of the working people; around thirty-eight or thirty-nine thousand, forty thousand, almost.

Mr. JACKSON. Out of a membership of?

Mr. ROMANO. About 60, at that time, which was a good percentage, in comparison to national elections.

Mr. JACKSON. How have subsequent elections reflected the ratio?

Mr. ROMANO. Pardon?

Mr. JACKSON. In subsequent elections, has that general ratio been maintained?

Mr. ROMANO. Sometimes, yes; always sliding back and forth between twenty-five and forty thousand, depending upon the interest created by the election.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned the name of Phil Schatz as one person who had been brought in here from New York for organizational purposes. I believe you mentioned the name of Schatz. I was going to ask you whether that was Phil Schatz?

Mr. ROMANO. If I remember correctly, I think that is his name. He was secretary of the Dearborn branch of the party at that time. The Dearborn branch is the branch that encompasses the Ford Motor Co., or the Rouge plant, to be specific.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, he has been identified during the course of the hearing as a member of the Communist Party by Wayne Salisbury and also Toby Baldwin.

You spoke of a man by the name of Jackson. What is his first name?

Mr. ROMANO. I think it was James Jackson. An interesting incident led up to my knowing him, not knowing him, but almost meeting with him, was during the 1949 strike we had out at Ford. Thompson and Bill Hood were in negotiation with the company and the rest of the union officials, and I was left in the local in complete charge of the operation of the strike. Prior to the strike, we had set up the machinery of conducting an orderly and responsible strike, in what I felt was in the best interest of the workers and everybody else concerned. I didn't make up the plans myself. There was a series of committees selected to bring in reports and to set up the apparatus for strike action. Naturally, when the strike took place, we were ready for that particular situation. We set up a publicity committee, which is very important; a food committee, all committees which are important. But, it seems, through democratic procedure, none of the party members were on any of the important committees.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean, the Communist Party members?

Mr. ROMANO. That's right. A group came in to see me one day, and said, "Look, we want to help in this thing. We want to work with you. We want to bring about a successful conclusion to this strike, but," he said, "we can't tolerate this situation as it is today."

The flying squadron is refusing to permit the Michigan Worker and issuance of the leaflets we want to put out as the Communist Party, and also the issuance of the food under the name of," not the Communist Party, Lat. Garibaldi group, which happened to be an IWO chapter within the city of Detroit, and other IWO groups. So, he said, "We would like to arrange a meeting with you with James Jackson, who would like to talk to you and show you and prove to you we are honest and sincere"; and I told him at that time, without thinking too much, because I was involved in a lot of problems that I had, "O. K."

But, in discussing it later the same day, I contacted them and told them I would talk only to them and them alone. We didn't want any interference from the outside. As far as we are concerned, the executive board had ruled there would be no distribution of literature outside of any kind, regardless of whether it emanated from the company or any outside organization. We told them we didn't want them to pass out leaflets which would be inflammatory and tending to take away from the minds of the people the real issues during this strike; and, if they did, we would execute the orders of the executive board on that particular thing.

As far as the food is concerned, I know what you are trying to do. You are trying to instill into the people's mind the Communist Party is leading the strike; their New York boy, a big dog, the Garibaldi group, IWO, and another local Hungarian IWO group, passing along that these boys were associated with the Communists. I told them we had a central local point in the basement for all food to pass through, and, "if you people have an honest desire to help in the strike, you can send the food down there, and we will see that it gets distributed." I said, "If you are in here to make propaganda, to gain a position during the strike for yourselves as the Communist Party, that's out." To this day the Garibaldi group never delivered any food; the Hungarian IWO never delivered any food. The only time they do things they don't want to do them anonymously; they want the credit. They want to make sure they come out on top, insofar as their propaganda machine is concerned. That is why this was held to exist during the original strike, that they, and they alone, were responsible for the organization at Ford. That is the way they operate.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any other special activities of James Jackson, in connection with his alleged Communist Party activities? Do you know of any other incident—

Mr. ROMANO. No; I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER (continuing). Where he was consulted by the party as to the procedure to take in any given incident?

Mr. ROMANO. The only thing I know, other than that, he attended several council meetings as spectator. That is all I know about him. I left the party 3 years prior to that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether this is the same James Jackson who was indicted in the United States district court in New York recently?

Mr. ROMANO. I understand it is the same person.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is our information he is now a fugitive. Do you know anything about his present whereabouts?

Mr. ROMANO. Definitely not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer in evidence the December 19, 1948, issue—that is, page 14 of that issue—and ask that it be marked "Romano Exhibit No. 1." It is the Sunday Worker.

Mr. WOOD. It may be received.

(The above referred to document was marked "Romano Exhibit No. 1" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. It is the committee's information that a person by the name of Carl J. Turner was a candidate for recording secretary of Dearborn Iron Building of the Ford Motor Plant. Do you know whether that is correct?

Mr. ROMANO. There are so many units out there, and so many elections being held, I couldn't possibly say it was true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Carl J. Turner?

Mr. ROMANO. I am acquainted with him; I know who he is; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the Communist Party at any time, to your knowledge?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the unit to which he belonged?

Mr. ROMANO. I think at that time it was the Spring Up-set. I am not sure. Then he went into the foundry. I am not positive, but I think that is the score on that.

Mr. TAVENNER. What year is that, if you can tell us?

Mr. ROMANO. During the period between 1942 and 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position does William G. Grant hold in local 600?

Mr. ROMANO. He is present financial secretary of local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has he been known by you, at any time, to have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. No; he hasn't, but he has associated himself with the "progressive caucus" of local 600 from time to time, and certain times he ran as an independent. I can say that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Walter Quillico?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes; I know Walter Quillico.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. No; to my knowledge, he was never a member of the Communist Party; but he did attend, one night over at my house, a meeting of the IWO. That is the only knowledge I have of him, and he is a member of the "progressive caucus," one of the active members.

Mr. TAVENNER. A moment ago you told us of an incident in which the Communist Party, for its own purposes, had made public the fact that certain of its members were members of the Communist Party. Do you know whether that occurred in the case of Leo T. Orsage?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes; he was, but at a later date he was expelled from the Communist Party for deviationist action, if I remember the article correctly—I read it quite a while back—and because of the fact that he ran for president of his unit over the objections of the party at that particular time. He was expelled from the party for that reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. The reason being that he desired to run for office?

Mr. ROMANO. That's right. I can say that truthfully; that for a man of his activity within the party, and so forth, that after he was expelled the party went so far as to—one of the party members went so far as to call him a "Bilbo" during a council meeting, a word

which would never fit the man's make-up or character in any stretch of the imagination. The way they throw around villifications is sometimes not only surprising but actually without foundation. Certainly a man like Leo Orsage, to apply a term of "Bilbo" to him, when you stoop that low you can't go any lower; you have let out the bottom of the barrel. I want to say that for him because he is a grand fellow.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was a method of discipline within the Communist Party, that a person who joined it may be subjected to?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Since we mentioned the matter of discipline, do you know whether the party here had any particular committee set up as a disciplinary committee, before whom people were tried?

Mr. ROMANO. Well, I don't recall any special committee, as far as the Ford local was concerned. Once in a while we used to be taken in for a little reprimand, or one thing or another, for deviation of policy. We were held up to scorn, so to speak, before the rest. I was, on a couple of occasions, after I had been in the party, when I began to question some of their policies, and would just be the opposite way. But I never was brought to trial by the party, other than held up and scorned before the rest of the members while they did a nice hatchet job on me. They were careful not to antagonize me too much, but they got their point across.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the leader of the incident you have in mind?

Mr. ROMANO. At that time we had a committee of the union functioning, during the Communist Party activities, which was always the contact between the local union and the high echelon of the UAW. You have your region, which is above the local union, and you have your international officials, which is above the region. They used to be their contact men, so far as visiting the region, directing and trying to straighten them out on issues that the party thought was important, making them see the light, discussing it with them, in order to make them change their opinions. They were the agents between the regional officers and the international officers. Anytime one got out of line, they would go over and put the pressure on; the same thing they would do to UAW officials on different occasions, to correct a certain problem they thought was necessary to get their support on different issues, or things they thought might be going on within the province of local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. A moment ago, in speaking of Walter Quillico, you said he attended an IWO meeting at your home. What group or fraternity or society of the IWO was that?

Mr. ROMANO. That was the Garibaldi group.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were advised, as I understand, at the time you became a Communist Party member, to become a member of the IWO. Did you then join the Garibaldi group of the IWO?

Mr. ROMANO. You are automatically in. Our insurance was issued through that particular group. I might say, incidentally, if anybody knows anything about political science, ever since that name was given to the IWO group, I am pretty sure Garibaldi still hasn't stopped turning over in his grave. If there was anything he hated, it was totalitarianism.

Mr. JACKSON. Is not that true of Thomas Jefferson and the other splendid gentlemen who wrote the main articles of the Declaration of Independence?

Mr. ROMANO. The answer to that is "What crimes are committed in thy name."

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the exact name of the society of Garibaldi, American Fraternal Society of the IWO?

Mr. ROMANO. That is right, if my memory serves me correctly.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the strength of the organization?

Mr. ROMANO. Well, I don't know, exactly, how many members there were. I didn't attend open membership meetings; to be very frank, but, I imagine around 50 or 60 members. I wouldn't be correct on that. I never attended a membership meeting. I can only say that from hearsay.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what the national membership was?

Mr. ROMANO. No; I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. The next name I would like to ask about is Ed Lock. Was he known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Very definitely.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the branch or building of the Ford Motor Company where he was employed?

Mr. ROMANO. He was originally employed in the motor plant, and then, he moved over to the plastic plant, when his job moved there, and he still remains there.

Mr. TAVENNER. What official position does he now hold or has he recently held in the plastic building?

Mr. ROMANO. As president of the plastic building.

Mr. TAVENNER. James M. Simmons is another person we understand was in the plastic building, employed there. Are you acquainted with him?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what position he now holds or has recently held in the organization of that building?

Mr. ROMANO. He has held the position of vice president from time to time. I don't know if he holds any official position at the present time, but, I would like to scratch the surface a little bit there. On this question of promoting people from sainthood and back to the doghouse, here was an individual who, during the strike at Ford, worked in the plant, and, naturally, the tag of a company stooge would be the most appropriate thing for him. Once he joined the party, however, he was absolved of all previous sins, and elevated to the sainthood as a leader of the working class of people of America. He was active from the very beginning of the organizational drive, fell out of grace with the party, and demoted from the sainthood. Any time they challenge party policy or chose to fight party policy, they have a very adequate slide rule of demoting people from the sainthood back down to the doghouse, to hell, if I may say so.

Mr. WALTER. Who did the promoting and demoting?

Mr. ROMANO. Once they become party members, naturally they have to whitewash their past, and everybody is told what the score is,

and they are instructed that anybody who calls him a company stooge, is a company stooge, himself. As far as elevating him is concerned, when he becomes a member, he automatically is elevated in the eyes of the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. We had a witness who came voluntarily before the committee last week, or several weeks ago, who had been identified as a Communist Party member, and he told us the story of how the Communist Party had induced him to become a member, on the promise that he would be upgraded. Was that a common practice in recruiting; they would make inducements or give out inducements of that kind to prospective members, that if they joined, their positions in the union would be raised?

Mr. ROMANO. I might say this: That I have been—that everybody is indoctrinated to a certain extent on how to recruit people. First of all, you size up your prospect, see whether or not he is an opportunist, see where his weakness lies, whether he is an opportunist, principle kind, or whether he is sincere in what he is doing, and, of course, you use the best method to obtain a membership; you use the best method to recruit him into the party. That goes for the selling of subscriptions, too. I have known, many times a fellow who couldn't sell a fellow a subscription would pay for it out of his own pocket, as long as the fellow was willing to read the thing. Probably the fellow won't sign; he will say, "is it O. K. if I put your name on?" He says, "O. K." That's the way it went. I don't say that is the majority of cases, but in lots of cases.

Mr. Wood. I believe this is a pretty good time for us to take out for lunch. The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m., the committee recessed until 2 o'clock of the same day.)

AFTER RECESS

Mr. Wood. Let us have order, please.

Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Romano, I was asking you about your knowledge of Communist Party membership of certain individuals, and I would like to remind you again, in answering, if you can point out any activity, any particular activity of the individual in the Communist Party whose name I may call, I wish you would do so.

Was Archie Acciacea known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. He was a member of the Communist Party and he quit in the middle of 1947, I think, as approximately as I can put it, and for a number of years he was bitterly anti-Communist, but his actions in the past year are not those of a sincere and honest ex-Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he holds any position at the present time in the union?

Mr. ROMANO. He is the president of the pressed-steel unit, or, as it is known now, the Dearborn stamping plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not Dave Moore was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what connection was he involved in the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Well, he was a member of the cell in the axle building, as best I can remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does he hold any position now, or has he held any position in local 600 in recent years?

Mr. ROMANO. He has held various positions: vice president of the axle building, if I recall, district committeeman, and member of the general council. That is all I can remember offhand.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Paul Boatin known to you to be a member of the Communist Party at any time?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What official position did he hold in local 600?

Mr. ROMANO. Well, he was a member of the bargaining committee in the motor building, and approximately 2 years ago he was elected president of the motor plant, and he still holds that office—also a member—automatically he becomes a member of the executive board of local 600 and the general council in view of his office as president of the motor plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he hold any position, to your knowledge, in the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. I can't recall of any definite position.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Johnny Gallo known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How has he been employed by local 600?

Mr. ROMANO. In 1941 he was elected to the office of guide, and was appointed recreational director for the local, and he was in charge of all recreational facilities among the younger members of the local. He held that office until 1945, when Joe Mascusky was elected president, and he appointed someone else in his place. Then he was re-elected again the following year and held it until the time he resigned because of the Taft-Hartley affidavits. At the present time he is a district committeeman over in the new Dearborn engine plant where they produce the Pratt & Whitney engine.

Mr. TAVENNER. Our information is that William H. Johnson is the executive adviser to the president of local 600. Is that correct?

Mr. ROMANO. That is right, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you to have been a member of the Communist Party at any time?

Mr. ROMANO. I don't recall meeting him at Communist Party meetings, although he has been a very very active member in the progressive caucus of local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Nelson Davis?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes, he was. I guess everybody knows that, because the Michigan Worker touted him as a leader of the Communist Party in many of its publications.

Mr. TAVENNER. His position then had been close to that of being an open member of the Communist Party in that the official organs of the Communist Party had mentioned him as a Communist?

Mr. ROMANO. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. How has he been employed in local 600?

Mr. ROMANO. Well, he has held several various offices in the Dearborn Iron Foundry, as it is called today, and I understand vice president of the bargaining committee in charge of safety and one thing and another.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is Harold Franklin a person known to you to have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. I recall him being named, but I can't place him at any of the meetings that I attended. I don't recall his name. The reason I can't recall it is because I have been thinking about it for a period of days since he was named by Miss Bereniece Baldwin. I just can't recall ever placing him at a meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he hold in the union?

Mr. ROMANO. The latest I know of, he was recording secretary of the Dearborn Iron Foundry. In fact, I think he still is recording secretary of the Dearborn Iron Foundry.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Mack Cinzori—

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. I met him early in the—when I joined the party in '42, I think, at some of the party functions and meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. What official position has he held at the local 600, if you know?

Mr. ROMANO. The only one I can recall is he was a member of the general council and a district committeeman in the tool and die unit, and he is still a district committeeman in the tool and die unit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Tom Jelley known to you to have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What official position did Tom Jelley hold in local 600, if you know?

Mr. ROMANO. Since 1941 he has always been a district committeeman in the tool and die section of the Dearborn stamping plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell his last name; do you know?

Mr. ROMANO. J-e-l-l-e-y, I think.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with James Watts?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was James Watts known to you to have been a member of the Communist Party at any time?

Mr. ROMANO. Well, during the trials in local 600 a year and a half ago, he admitted himself on the stand that he was a member of the Communist Party in 1943 for a period of about a year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Aside from his own admission, did you have knowledge of his Communist Party membership?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. I remember a meeting that Nelson Davis brought him in. I think it was, if I am not mistaken, the civic center out on Erskine and Brush Street, or John R., I think it was. That is it, Erskine and John R.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of James Watts having admitted his Communist Party membership. In what connection did he admit his Communist Party membership?

Mr. ROMANO. Well, during the trials at Ford Local 600, which were held in 1950—

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he under oath at the time?

Mr. ROMANO. He was sworn by the committee under oath, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you present during the trial?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you heard him testify?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he testify as to the Communist Party membership of John Gallo?

Mr. ROMANO. Right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Nelson Davis?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. By that I mean did he state under oath that they were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. He mentioned that Nelson Davis was the one who recruited him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Paul Boatin?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Johnny Gallo?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dave Moore?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What positions, if you know——

Mr. ROMANO. On the question—pardon me a second. To be fair about this, I don't remember if he mentioned them all as party members because they weren't on trial as party members alone. They were on trial on two counts: As party members, or subservient to the party line. I think those were the specific charges. He said that Nelson Davis recruited him, and I am pretty sure he said—in fact, I am positive he said—that Johnny Gallo belonged, Paul Boatin belonged, but I am not so sure on the question of Dave Moore. I am not positive on that one.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, what positions has James Watts held in local 600, if you know?

Mr. ROMANO. Well, he was member at one time of the international UAW staff. Then he was returned back to the shop for some reasons which I am not familiar with, and he was a member of the general council for quite some time. Now he is a member of Carl Stellato's personal staff.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was John Lawson known to you to have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his connection or employment with local 600?

Mr. ROMANO. He never had any connection as far as employment is concerned with local 600. He is a rank-and-file worker. I am not sure if he was a member of the council at one time or not, but in most of the time he was just a mere rank-and-filer, a worker on the job in the tool and die unit section of the pressed steel Dearborn plant—I mean Dearborn stamping plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Charles E. Morgan known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he hold in local 600, if any?

Mr. ROMANO. He was a district committeeman at one time for a while. Then he was a member of the general council also at one time, I am pretty sure, and that's about all the extent of his holding office.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there anything especially significant about his Communist Party membership or activity?

Mr. ROMANO. Oh, yes. I remember when he first came into the pressed steel cell. We were warned about him, to watch him closely because of the fact that he had formerly belonged to the party but he had been expelled for certain deviations of which I never could get a very close picture, and he operated under the name of Peoples at that time, if I am not mistaken. That must have been during the "Red decade." That was between 1930 and 1940.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Roy Narancich a member of the party, to your knowledge?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he have any employment with local 600?

Mr. ROMANO. Not to my knowledge, outside of being a member of the council possibly at one time or another.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Bagrad Vartainian?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you to have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances under which you knew him to be a member?

Mr. ROMANO. Well, the first time I knew he was a member of the Communist Party is when we dissolved the factory branches—factory cells, rather, and operated under the CPA and the community cell, and he belonged to the Delray Club by virtue of his location—I mean by virtue of the fact that he lived in that region.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he is the father-in-law of Paul Boatin?

Mr. ROMANO. At the present time he is.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether his daughter is employed in the office of local 600?

Mr. ROMANO. She is.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is her name?

Mr. ROMANO. Ann Vartainian.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is she now the wife of Paul Boatin?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is she known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many other persons are employed in the same general capacity in which she is employed on the job?

Mr. ROMANO. There must be around 30, I imagine, about 30 typists, clerks—clerk of all sorts to take care of membership records and work as secretaries to the different officers and staff members.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Ann Vartainian was press director of the Delray unit of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. I don't know exactly whether she was press director, but she pinch-hitted more or less on the job of secretary and doing some typing and stuff that we needed and so forth.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Paul Boatin at any time held an official position in the Delray unit of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. I don't recall because of the fact that he didn't attend meetings too regularly, and when he did have occasion to be in the

meetings himself, he just came in and made a speech and that was the extent of his activity at that particular time, as I remember. Whether he had any activities within the party itself, I don't know. I never asked him.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think I should ask you this at this time: You have mentioned the names of a number of individuals who were members of the Communist Party and who held positions or were employed by local 600. Which of those positions are elective and which are appointive?

Mr. ROMANO. All of them are elective with the exception of staff members at the local. All of them are elected.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Walter Dorosh?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. He is now on the personal staff of Carl Stellato.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Not only a member of the Communist Party, but he was part of the top echelon in the State.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he press director at any time for the Ford section of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. He might have been. I don't recall specifically.

Mr. TAVENNER. You do not recall?

Mr. ROMANO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that he was a member of the top echelon of the Communist Party in the State of Michigan. Do you remember specifically what office he held?

Mr. ROMANO. From what I understood at executive board meetings I attended, he was a member of the State committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position or to what extent was he active in local 600? That is, in local 600 in Communist Party affairs.

Mr. ROMANO. He was in charge of correlating the organization from a local level, from a rank-and-filer level, from a member of local 600 level.

Mr. TAVENNER. For the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. That's right. Everybody knew that that knows anything about politics in local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Mike Hrabar known to you to have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe his activity in the party?

Mr. ROMANO. Well, he never held an office outside of general council member and district committeeman, but he wielded a tremendous influence within local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. Influence within what group?

Mr. ROMANO. Well, within the party itself.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes, within the Communist Party. You see, we had a top committee, as I said before, that would meet with the officers of the local when the officers were cooperating with the party, and also in the region when the region was controlled by the left wing, and also in the international when the international was controlled by the left wing on cases and problems pertinent to local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Leroy Krawford was a member of the Communist Party at any time?

Mr. ROMANO. I can't place him at meetings, but I knew him as a member of the Communist Party, let's put it that way.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances under which you knew him as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Well, within the progressive caucus, a question before the caucus itself, we discussed different manœuvres, et cetera, and he also was in those side caucuses that we held in order to put over our program, and we discussed it as party members.

Mr. TAVENNER. As Communist Party members?

Mr. ROMANO. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the correct spelling of his name?

Mr. ROMANO. L-e-r-o-y K-r-a-w-f-o-r-d.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Frank J. Martin known to you to have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. I don't recall Frank J. Martin.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Tersil Obriot known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe, please, his position in local 600 and his activity in the party, if you know?

Mr. ROMANO. In local 600 his position was that of a member and a worker in the shop, and as far as positions in the party, he never held any other than he was—he could be classified as a hard worker for the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. John—sometimes referred to as Whity—Saari, was he known to you to have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his function in local 600 and in the party, if you know, the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Well, during the war he wasn't very active. Then I understand he quit Ford, and he came back again in the motor plant, and now he is holding the office of appointed district committeeman in the Dearborn engine plant, appointed by the president of the motor plant, of course, Paul Boatin.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Kenneth Roach known to you to have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state what position he held both within the Communist Party and local 600, if you know?

Mr. ROMANO. He joined the party at the tail end of my association with the party, and I don't know what his functions were in the party, as I recall, because he never belonged to our cell in the pressed steel unit, and when we met on an over-all local basis, we never went through the procedures of agenda or anything other than to discuss political situations in the local union. But right now he is holding the office of district committeeman in the Dearborn engine plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Celia Edwards, also known as Mrs. Byron Edwards?

Mr. ROMANO. I don't recall ever meeting her at party meetings, but I do know that her husband was a party member, and I understand during the first years of his membership the home life wasn't on a stabilized equilibrium because of his position. But whether she joined

the party after that or not, I don't know at all. I couldn't swear to it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not she held any position or place of employment with local 600?

Mr. ROMANO. She is a clerk in local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the present time?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Mary Page Davis?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she known to you to have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. During my association with the party, she never belonged to the pressed steel cell, of course, because she never worked at Ford. She didn't belong to the Delray cell because of the fact that she didn't live in that region. But I knew for a fact that she was a member of the party because her name came up on different occasions during discussions within the party itself, and she was pointed out as a party member, a person that we could confide in, et cetera, et cetera.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether she held any place of employment in local 600?

Mr. ROMANO. I think she is a clerk-typist in local 600 at the present time.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have already referred to Ann Boatin, I think.

Mr. ROMANO. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Opal Palmer?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she known to you to have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. I met her during the CPA days in the Delray branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did she have any position of employment within local 600?

Mr. ROMANO. She is stock clerk in local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. She is employed in that capacity now?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Ruben Mardiros?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. I remember him. He chaired one of our meetings, one of the first meetings I went to at the pressed steel cell in the basement of a Rumanian church on Saline there, if I recall correctly, and he is a member of the tool and die unit, but he never held any official capacity to my knowledge in local 600. He wasn't elected to any official capacity.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you said he chaired one of your meetings, you mean a Communist Party meeting?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Johnny Duncan?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you to have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Everybody around local 600 knew it because he never made any bones about it, and he was one of the top four or five on the top committee of local 600 of the party. He functioned as a review

board member of the committee in local 600 which took up the grievances in their third stage between the company and the union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Pete Kasper known to you to have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was he employed, if at all, by local 600?

Mr. ROMANO. I don't remember him being ever employed as such unless he participated probably on PAC drives and one thing or another, but he is a member of the open hearth unit, and he has held some official capacities such as general council member and possibly on the committee at one time or another. But I understand now he is on the incentive-pay committee, if I am correct. I think I am pretty correct on that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Frank Stepanchenko known to you to have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. He belonged to the pressed steel branch. When I don't add to my answers the fact that they didn't leave the party, that indicates their present policy is still with the party. I want that understood.

I don't know what happened to him after 1946. I can't verify it. I can judge by the actions which speak louder than words, of course.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know anything of his activities within the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. No. He didn't have any official capacity within the Communist Party, but he has been a district committeeman in the now Dearborn stamping unit for—oh, since I can remember way back in '41 or '42.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Walter O. Brown known to you to have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What official position did he hold, if any, with local 600?

Mr. ROMANO. Well, he served on the election committee on several occasions in local 600. He has been a district committeeman for many years in the now Dearborn stamping plant for pressed steel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Emmett Forsythe known to you to have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes, but he quit at the same time I did, in 1946. I was responsible—I might add, without being facetious, that I was responsible for him joining the party, and he was one of the first ones that got out with me when we made our decision, and he was a great help in dissolving the cell in that particular unit although now, at the present time, he is serving on the staff of Carl Stellato.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were asked a question by a committee member regarding William Allan. I am not certain that you answered fully what William Allan's position was with reference to the Communist Party while you were a member.

Mr. ROMANO. I knew William Allan at some of our first meetings around the city and he was in charge, when I first joined the party, of the Rouge branch of the party, the Ford Rouge plant, and he was the guiding light, so to speak, of the party even though he never worked in the Ford Motor Co., and he served as Michigan editor of the Michigan Worker, the Herald—I don't know about the Herald because that was during the war—the Michigan Worker and the Daily Worker.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say he occupied that position in the party and in the activity in the Ford plant notwithstanding the fact he was not an employee?

Mr. ROMANO. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Not an employee of the Ford plant?

Mr. ROMANO. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, was he an official of the union at any time?

Mr. ROMANO. No, not to my knowledge, not at Ford for sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, isn't that a rather unusual thing that a person would occupy a position of that importance in a Communist group organized within a special industry such as the Ford plant?

Mr. ROMANO. No; it wasn't unusual. I remember a convention, now that you ask the question, in 1943, I think it was, where we elected officers of the State committee. I never saw the guy in my life. I mean I don't think he ever was in Michigan until that particular convention. We elected them to these particular offices because they were proposed from the top down, and the case of Schatz and Jackson was another occasion, especially at that time when the forces of the party were sagging terrifically, in 1947, 1948, and 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the individual that you had reference to that was elected to a State position in the party who probably had not been in the State before that time?

Mr. ROMANO. I don't recall his name. I wouldn't recall his name.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, may I?

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Before you leave the matter of Mr. Allan, if you have not done so, Mr. Counsel, I personally have been asked on several occasions by interested individuals as to whether or not any cloak of immunity extends to a member of the working press. I think it should be made perfectly clear that as far as I personally am concerned, that I hope as soon as this matter has been disposed of in the Detroit area, and at such time as the committee cannot be accused of stifling any expression on the part of the press, Mr. Allan will be called to Washington to testify before this committee. I think there are obvious reasons why he should not be called at the present time, but I should certainly not want the impression to go abroad that he enjoys any immunity by virtue of his professional employment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Romano, were you a delegate to the National Negro Congress?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. I was, in 1941, a delegate to the National Negro Congress. If I am correct—I am pretty sure I am correct—it was the founding convention of the National Negro Congress, and it was in the fall, I think either October or November of 1941. I was sent there as a member of local 600, and I learned only later that I was sent through the maneuverings of the party to this particular convention with the administrator of the local at that particular time.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you say you were sent by the maneuverings of the party, what party are you referring to?

Mr. ROMANO. The Communist Party. All of us ex-party members refer to it as the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand, but for the accuracy of the record, you were speaking of three organizations in that one instance: One was local 600, another was the National Negro Congress, and the other was the Communist Party.

Mr. ROMANO. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. And if you are not rather specific about it, there might be room for confusion.

Mr. ROMANO. I realize that everybody didn't belong to the party. I am sorry. But anyway, I remember very specifically we went to Washington with a delegation of five, and we attended this convention. I can assure you it was quite a revelation to me because I had never been any other place but New Haven, Conn., and Detroit, Mich., period. It was a revelation in many ways because of the fact that I had heard a lot about Washington but I had never appreciated the city before. Of course, we took in the tourist spots such as Abraham Lincoln's monument and all the rest of them. But during the convention, people were pointed out to me as leaders of the party whose names I don't recall. In fact, they didn't mention their names, just pointed them out with their fingers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Leaders of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes, who were browsing around, so to speak, from place to place, or caucusing with people, so to speak, in terms of making it a very successful convention.

I might add this was during the period when Russia was calling for the support and unity of the American people for the people's army to participate in the fight for liberation against the Fascists, and this conference was called primarily for the purpose of uniting the Negro people behind the war effort.

I remember very well a speech made by Clayton Powell, and if any of you have heard Clayton Powell, you know that he is a man who can really bring you up to the chandeliers, and when he is through he leaves you holding on to the chandeliers. There is no question about it. He is a very forceful speaker.

But anyway, the party functionaries criticized this speech by him because of the fact that he pointed up the grievances of the Negro people in the country, and that he felt that not only should we support the war effort—the Negro people were prepared to support the war effort—but also that their grievances must be given some consideration during the war period. And the party at this particular time, because they were waving two flags, the American flag and the Red star, couldn't tolerate any type of deviation of this kind, and naturally they, I understand, called him on the carpet because he made this kind of a stirring speech.

Mr. WOOD. Called who on the carpet?

Mr. ROMANO. Called Clayton Powell on the carpet.

Mr. WOOD. Who did; the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. I heard that he was called on the carpet because of the stirring speech he made, and that it was not in keeping with a unity that was trying to be generated at this particular conference or convention.

You see, as I tried to point out this morning, the party is not interested in the real grievances of the Negro people, the working people, or the American people as a whole.

Mr. WOOD. By stating that you understood he was called on the carpet by some member of the Communist Party, did you mean to leave an inference here that Mr. Powell himself may have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. No, no; but he was working with the party at that time as many people have worked during—

Mr. POTTER. The point that you make is this: That after Mr. Powell's speech, the Communist Party criticized the speech?

Mr. ROMANO. That's right.

Mr. POTTER. Because he believed that the so-called grievances of the Negroes should be considered as a problem even during this period of time?

Mr. ROMANO. That's right.

Mr. POTTER. And the Communists, because of our collaboration with the Soviet Union, wanted to put the interest of the Soviet Union ahead of any Negro problems that might exist?

Mr. ROMANO. That is exactly correct.

Mr. POTTER. And they criticized Powell for his speech; is that the essence?

Mr. ROMANO. That's right.

Mr. JACKSON. That is, as distinguished from calling a member of the party before a disciplinary board for disciplinary action?

Mr. ROMANO. That's right.

Mr. JACKSON. I think that is the thing we want to straighten up here.

Mr. ROMANO. I am sorry if I left the inference that Clayton Powell was a member of the Communist Party. I never heard of that and I have never seen anything about that.

Mr. POTTER. He is a highly respected Negro leader.

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. But I found it strange at that time that they should raise the issue because of the fact that I had heard that the party was honestly and sincerely attempting to resolve the problems of the Negro, but after I read the book by Clarence Darrow of his life, relating to the Scottsboro case, I found out that it was much different.

Mr. POTTER. That speaks a lie to the propaganda that the Communist Party puts out of their great interest in Negro problems. When the interest conflicts with the interest of the Soviet Union, why, the interest of the Negro problem takes second place in preference to the interest of the Soviet Union. Is that true?

Mr. ROMANO. That is correct; definitely correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that your judgment of the role of the Communist Party with regard to the Negro race in the area of Detroit?

Mr. ROMANO. During the war, definitely.

I might say this: That not only this particular National Negro Congress brought about that conclusion, but also because of the fact that everybody else in the labor movement outside of the Communists were fighting for a double program. Victory at home and victory abroad, at that particular time during the war period, and they agitated and used all the vilifications they were capable of to undermine this double victory program on the part of the American people at that particular time.

I also might add, since we are on this particular question of the Negro people, that I personally admire the Negro people very very much, because never have they, in my opinion as I have seen it in action during my membership in the party, been sucked in, so to speak, on a mass basis as they would like people to believe, because the Negro people probably are taught when they are small not to accept the words of people as a means of establishing friendship or that people are their friends, but rather actions speak louder than words. They came in in droves during the war, but they left in droves also. Very few

stayed on on a permanent basis. You could count them on the fingers of your hand practically in the city of Detroit.

But anyway, the question of propaganda again enters into the picture as far as exploiting the problems of the Negro. I have here a copy—and I want to use as an exhibit, I am not going to read it—of the Sunday Worker dated February 10, 1952, which states under a subheadline here, "Local 600 wins jobs for Negroes in aircraft building," and it goes on to say: "Despite all efforts of the Union from 1941 to 1945, Negroes could not get hired in the Aircraft Building."

That is the greatest piece of literary prostitution, to use the common dialectical Communist term, that I have ever seen in my life, because today there are 2,000 people—at least 2,000 people walking the streets of Detroit who worked in the Aircraft Building from 1941 to 1945. And, further, Abe Sanford, Buddy Waterman, and Kermit Meade were elected district committeemen in that particular unit of the Ford Motor Co. So you see how they try to use the Negro issue to their own ends. Paul Boatin, who reported this article says that he is the guy who got the Negroes in the Aircraft Building in local 600 when everybody here from local 600 in the audience and otherwise knows that that is a premeditated lie, a premeditated lie, just to point up their great love for the Negro people of America when they really don't have any love because they are only waving the Communist flag at all times.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well now, were the three persons whom you mentioned as being elected to official positions in the union members of the Negro race?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. All three of them were members of the Negro race, and Kermit Meade is now a time-study engineer for the UAW—and this took place in the Aircraft Building where no Negro was working between the years of 1941 and 1945. I would like to submit that for the record.

Mr. Wood. Do you mean there were no Negroes working, according to that article?

Mr. ROMANO. That's right. But there were over 2,000 Negroes working there in that particular unit, and most of them are still living today, walking the streets of Detroit who can bear testimony to that fact, who can bear testimony to that fact and point that up as the most unmitigated piece of literary prostitution that I have ever run across.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Romano Exhibit No. 2."

Mr. Wood. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Romano Exhibit No. 2" and received in evidence.)

Mr. Wood. Proceed.

Mr. ROMANO. I also might point out another incident that happened and then I can close because I think that the Negro people know what the role of the Communist Party is without me telling them or telling anyone in the city of Detroit who is of the Negro race.

Mr. TAVENNER. This committee though is very much interested in that subject.

Mr. ROMANO. Yes, I know. Everybody knows that in the city of Dearborn, Negroes are not allowed to live. It isn't only in Georgia, or Tennessee, or Alabama, or Louisiana, or any place else. It is up

here, too, in certain cases. The top echelon of the party in the Rouge plant lives in Dearborn.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. Many of its leaders live in Dearborn. I remember about a year ago—well, let me say it this way: When I bought a home in 1945, I didn't buy it in Dearborn because I still felt that principle came before anything else, and I still feel the same way. But I find that a certain individual by the name of Ed Lock who is supposed to be an outstanding leader of the proletariat, who is supposed to lead the workers from the morass of darkness into the light, was living in Delray at that time and the Negroes had moved into that section of Detroit and what does he do? The first chance he gets to buy a house, he buys it in Dearborn, and he is a member of the top echelon of local 600 party members. Now, if these people have such a great love for the Negro people, how come they scurry away from them and go where they can't live next to them?

Mr. WOOD. Perhaps he may be an apostle of the old doctrine: Sometimes it becomes necessary for a man to rise above principle.

Mr. ROMANO. I can say this—That people who cast stones should never live in glass houses. I understand that these people have been casting quite a few stones about Georgia, Alabama; although I can agree that possibly there is no doubt that there are some problems which I hope with time and education we can take care of in America, but the only people that are going to take care of it are the American people and no one else.

Mr. POTTER. But the question here is the fact that the Communists have used the Negro issue as an issue without any effort or real effort to try to solve that issue.

Mr. ROMANO. That's right.

Mr. POTTER. You know, there are many people that like to keep things as issues rather than to solve the issues because by doing that, they remove the issue.

Mr. ROMANO. Well, I just don't think that they are honest and sincere when they talk about resolving the problems of the Negro people. The only reason they point them up is because they know as any other intelligent person in this country knows that three-quarters of the people in the world are part of the colored race, three-quarters of them. You know and everybody in this room knows that the offensive today is on these countries such as in Asia and Africa, and they point up these questions such as lynchings and so forth in these countries which take place in America and they point them up sharply and say that the Americans are anti-Negro, they are anti-this and anti-that, and naturally they gain some adherence to their cause through that.

Mr. POTTER. And we can thank God that the vast majority of the Negro people, despite all of the concentrated efforts made by the Communists to divide them and to bring them into their sphere, have been able to withstand it.

Mr. ROMANO. That's right.

Mr. POTTER. And they have problems which they want to solve and will solve by constitutional means.

Mr. ROMANO. That's right. That is why I said when I started: I am proud of the Negro people, and I am proud to be one individual

who will always fight in the best interests of civil rights, because I too come from a minority group such as being an Italian and being foreign born at the same time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Romano, we have seen according to a program of the Michigan School for Social Science that there was a course conducted there by William Allan on the role of Communists during strikes. Do you have any special knowledge regarding the Communist role during strikes which you have not already told us about?

Mr. ROMANO. No, I don't, because I never attended that school. As I said before, immediately after I became a member of the Communist Party, within a 6-month period, William Allan joined the Armed Forces, and when he came out I only participated in several meetings after that, and since that time I have never attended any meetings of the Communist Party or its classes.

Mr. TAVENNER. There have been prosecutions of members of the Communist Party under the Smith Act. Are you acquainted with the Communist Party position with regard to the Smith Act?

Mr. ROMANO. I am, sir. I am glad you asked that question because of the fact that if I can remember correctly, a strike took place in the city of Minneapolis in which 18 people, members of this particular teamsters local, were indicted for rioting et cetera, et cetera, and the Communist Party at that time during the procedure of the trial—Earl Browder himself sent a telegram to charge these people with sedition because of the fact that they were involved in a strike during the war which was inimical and sabotaging the war effort. You see, the reason they did this was because of the fact that these individuals or some of them at least known as the Dunne brothers, if I am correct, were members of the Socialist Workers' Party or the Trotskyite wing of the Communist Party who are supposedly the greatest no good so-and-so's in God's creation insofar as the Communist Party is concerned, or the Stalinist Party which should more appropriately be named since Trotsky broke with Stalin way back after Lenin's death, and anyone that smells like a Trotskyite would have the same effect as a red flag in front of a bull, and they were only too eager to take up cudgels for the Government to railroad, as they claim they are being railroaded now under the Smith Act, these men for sedition because they had the audacity to participate in a strike during the war effort.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, if the Communist Party did not believe in the brand of communism that was involved, they desired prosecution under the Smith Act, but if it was their brand of communism that was being prosecuted under the Smith Act, then we would find these various defense committees arising all over the country with protests to Judge Medina, protests to the Supreme Court, protests to the President to the prosecution of members of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. That's correct, sir. And anybody that knows anything about political science in America knows that immediately after the First World War, when they started certain trials of the same type after the First World War, everybody came to the aid of the Communists, but they found out that when anybody else in the labor movement such as a Socialist, Social Democrat, Trotskyite, or any member of a great many different wings of socialism were involved in trouble with the Government, they were the first ones to deny organizations such as the Civil Rights Congress, such as the

American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, defense for this, defense for that; they denied them the right to help them because democracy to them only works on a one-way street basis: "We want the democracy, and to hell with the next guy." God help them as far as they are concerned! .

When a person like Stanley Nowak comes up here and talks about democracy, about the freedom of speech, and all those goose-pimple phrases that draw goose-pimples from the top to the bottom of your neck and to the tip of your haunches, so to speak, why, that don't mean a thing. It is empty phrases. They are peddlers of fake slogans just like a bootlegger is a peddler of fake alcohol, the same way. Their hypocrisy knows no height and it knows no hell, believe me.

Mr. Wood. Would it interfere with your line of questioning, Mr. Counsel, to permit me to make a few interrogations of this witness before he gets away from local 600?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir; not at all.

Mr. Wood. Notwithstanding the fact that according to your testimony you had been disassociated with the Communist Party for some years, your observation of the party and its influence in this particular trade organization known as local 600, which I believe has a membership now of approximately 60,000 people; is that correct?

Mr. ROMANO. About 50,000 right now.

Mr. Wood. Is the influence of the Communist Party and the Communist sympathizers, whether members of the party or not, greater or less now than the ratio of the membership generally of the party? Has it decreased as the membership of the party has, or has it increased, or is it on a level? How do you figure it today? What is your opinion about it?

Mr. ROMANO. Do you want me to answer that question, sir?

Mr. Wood. Yes.

Mr. ROMANO. I hesitated to mention that this morning when I mentioned the facts about fellow travelers and pro-Communists because I didn't want to deviate from the thing at hand, and that is the Communist issue itself. But since you asked the question, the membership of the party is at least four times or three times less than it was during the war, but still they are able to sway more influence because the party is interested in unity all the time, unity programs. They come out a dime a dozen, about 10 times a year, unit program for this, unity for that. They want to reunite with everybody that is for their program. So you have in local 600 today three forces united together which met, I understand—I don't understand, I know—3 weeks ago, the Sunday before the hearings started in the first instant in Detroit.

Mr. Wood. You mean the hearings of this committee?

Mr. ROMANO. That's right. And they pledged in blood, so to speak, to help one another; one for all and all for one. Stellato got up and Rice got up and all the rest of them, Hood and so forth, and these three forces joined forces; namely, what is left of what used to be the right wing force, and the progressive caucus, and the party in the progressive caucus. All these forces joined forces officially in local 600. Prior to that they had been working together since May of last year. They controlled in the council at least 90 percent of the delegates,

these 3 forces together, and they controlled 19 out of 25 positions on the executive board. Naturally that means they control the propaganda arm, the Ford Facts. And incidentally, the Ford Facts is supervised by the president of the local union. I know. I was vice president once, and I know that the president of the local union has the sole authority of enunciating its policy and what goes into the paper and not the publicity. That committee hasn't met, I don't think three times since 1941. So the members of the commercial press can get that straight, that the publicity committee very rarely meets. It is the president of the local who sets the policy of the paper. And also it controls all the committees of the general council such as PAC which plays an important part in elections, and so forth; the election committee; and all the other committees which make up the general council. They have today the greatest influence, the party has, because 3 months before the adoption of the present program of local 600, or even before it came up for discussion at local 600, the Michigan Worker carried that same particular program word for word. That is not my statement, sir. That is a matter of record in local 600 and a matter of record of the Michigan Worker, and I hope that no one will try to deviate from the thing that I am here personally for, and that is to tell my experiences so that other people will realize what is going on, because like I said before, if I can make one convert against communism, my mission shall be accomplished. If I can make it 100, it will be accomplished one-hundred-fold.

Mr. POTTER. I understand that there is nothing as vicious as labor politics. In national politics they claim you are subject to the double-cross at any time, but in labor politics if you can get by without a triple-cross, why, you are lucky. Is that an experience that you have had in the labor field?

Mr. ROMANO. I had it in 1950, believe me. I will never forget it.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, may I make a comment here? These hearings have resulted in a number of disclosures respecting Communists, past and present, not only in 600, but in other branches, other agencies. Up to this point, it has been pretty much like Mark Twain said about the weather: "Everybody is talking about it, nobody is doing much about it." Remember that this situation is not limited to Detroit; 150 million people are looking to these developments and they are wondering when all of the agencies in this part of the country are going to take some of these Communists by the seat of the pants and throw them out of the unions. I think it is a very proper inquiry because up to this time we have been confronted with bylaws and constitutions and any number of reasons why certain things could not be done. The committee has not been told why self-admitted, why identified Communists have not been removed. I think it is apropos to this particular moment.

Do you have any comment on that?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes, I have; and my comment is this, sir; I hope you will take it in the light in which it is given. I found that when I started in 1946, boring from within and using the same tactics they used on others, that the only way that you can beat the Communists is beat them on a programmatic basis. If we use the same methods they do in Russia, I believe that we would be defeating the purpose. I sincerely and honestly believe that we would be defeating the purpose.

The thing that the Communists hate most is to be brought out into the light of day. That is the thing they hate most, to be brought out into the light of day.

Mr. JACKSON. Let me say in that connection that the philosophy that a few Communists working in an organization can do no harm, that the processes of democracy will, in time, take care of the situation has taken a third of the population of the earth behind the iron curtain.

You can no more do business with a Communist today than you could do business with Adolf Hitler during the war.

Mr. ROMANO. I agree with you.

Mr. JACKSON. The sooner the substantial loyal American elements in the unions of Detroit and of Michigan and of this country, take the bull by the horns and throw the Communists out, the sooner we are going to get the matter of communism in hand. But as long as they remain, they remain a constant undeviating influence for the overthrow of this country. So I have no sympathy with those who say: "Well, true, so and so has been identified two or three times, but after all, he has certain rights and certain privileges." I say that he will destroy those rights and privileges if you let him go far enough.

Mr. ROMANO. I might say this: I don't think you understood me correctly. Possibly I would be in favor of changing the constitution of the UAW, for example, but until it is changed, then we should follow democracy. When it is changed, then it becomes democracy again to put them out of the union, if the convention so delegates the union to do so.

Mr. JACKSON. Have any proposals been advanced to make the changes that will be required to expel an admitted Communist or an identified Communist?

Mr. ROMANO. As far as admitted Communists or Communists who have been placed on trial and proven guilty, the UAW constitution so provides that they be removed from office, but the UAW convention does not take place until next year in April, and possibly at that convention the thing may be made much more broad than what it is today, possibly to include people who have refused to answer under the fifth amendment or something like that, I don't know. But then, once it is in the books, it becomes part of the UAW constitution. Then it is democratic to follow through with that constitution.

Mr. JACKSON. Let it be hoped that the vast majority of the members of the UAW-CIO about whose loyalty I have no question will undertake to expel those who expound the same philosophies as those who are wielding bayonets against our men in Korea.

Mr. Wood. I think it might be pertinent to at this time insert into the record this provision of the UAW constitution which reads as follows, and I quote:

No member of any local union shall be eligible to hold any elective or appointive position in this international union or in any local union in this international union if he is a member of or subservient to any political organizations such as the Communist, Fascist, or Nazi organizations which owes its allegiance to any government other than the United States or Canada, directly or indirectly.

What broader authority do they need than the authority they have got now under their own constitution?

Mr. JACKSON. It requires implementation.

Mr. POTTER. As I understand it, this is for the officers, the elected and appointed officers?

Mr. ROMANO. Not appointed. The appointed they can summarily discharge, but the elective officers—you see, the constitution under its trial procedures must implement that particular part of the constitution. Such trials were held in local 600 in 1950. They came to a final conclusion eventually, but they were sidetracked by so many detours because of many different reasons which I don't like to go into at this particular time.

Mr. Wood. Excuse the interruption, Mr. Counsel.

Maybe at this time we had better take a 15-minute recess.

(A recess was taken.)

Mr. Wood. Let us have order, please.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Romano, will you tell the committee, please, what role the Communist Party played, if you know, in the organization and the activity of the Michigan Congress for the Protection of the Foreign Born and the Michigan Civil Rights Congress also, if you know?

Mr. ROMANO. As far as the Michigan Civil Rights Congress, I attended one of their conventions in 1943, I believe, and the role of the Civil Rights Congress is to protect the civil liberties of the Communists and fellow travelers and pro-Communists in America. It is particularly a Communist-front organization as I pointed out this morning, and it promotes the interests of the Communist Party in America and only for the Communists in America.

Mr. TAVENNER. May I interrupt you there a moment? Do you have any personal knowledge of their plan and the manner in which they raise money for bail bonds?

Mr. ROMANO. No, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, now, will you proceed, please, in answer to the question with regard to the Michigan Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born?

Mr. ROMANO. My only knowledge about this organization took place in my office while I was vice president of local 600 when one afternoon Arthur McPhaul came into my office to discuss a problem, so he said. When he came in, he started talking about sponsoring—if I would be a sponsor for the Committee of the Foreign Born. I told him—I asked him rather, "What is the purpose of this committee?" I said, "I would buy something if it was in the best interests of the working people of America and America as a whole to protect the rights of people if necessary." And he told me that because of the hysteria and deportations that were taking place at this time, that he was going around getting sponsors for this particular organization, and that he felt that since I was a vice president of local 600 and born in Italy that I would be a great influence on the sponsorship list.

So I asked him, I said, "Well, level off, Art." I said, "Level off. There is nobody here in the office so you can't say that I am going around red-baiting you. You are a party member and I am an ex-party member. So there is no question of red-baiting involved. We both know the score. Level off. Is the party behind this? Maybe I will buy it, I don't know." So he said, "Well, you know, Lee, you know of course the party is behind it."

So I said, "McPhaul, I will buy this any time in the future when I want a one-way ticket back to Italy, a free one-way ticket back to Italy. Then I will become a sponsor for this organization, because the best way for me to end up in Italy—not that I don't like the country as far as taking a trip back there—but the best way for me to end up there permanently would be to be a sponsor on this committee."

That is my full extent and knowledge of the committee.

Mr. WALTER. During the course of these discussions, did anybody ever tell you what the foreign born who were lawfully in the United States had to fear?

Mr. ROMANO. Well, I told him that I wasn't worried about being picked on, and I said I saw no reason why I should band together with other foreigners in this country for that particular purpose, because certainly I felt that with the exception of the episode from 1942 to 1946 that I saw no reason why they should start persecuting me.

Mr. WALTER. I am thoroughly convinced that that line of argument has been adopted for the purpose of deceiving people who were not born in the United States, because the Supreme Court has ruled that a person lawfully in the United States whether born here or not has the same protection under the Constitution as a native-born citizen, and because of all of these misrepresentations I am convinced that it is part of the Communist line to endeavor to deceive these people and make them feel that they are second-class or inferior in some respect.

Mr. ROMANO. That is absolutely my feelings on it, sir.

Mr. Wood. Would you yield for a moment?

In that regard, it might be pointed out that with the exception of the few remaining American Indians in America, all of us are either foreign born or the descendants of foreign-born people.

Mr. WALTER. It is just a case of which boat our ancestors came over on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Romano, the CIO expelled from its ranks several labor international unions, among which were the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, and the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers. I think possibly there were five or six different international unions which were expelled. Now, at the time of their expulsion, the CIO advised its membership of the role of the Communist Party and of its aims and purposes in infiltrating the labor movement. Are you acquainted with the circumstances under which these expulsions occurred, and if you are, we would like to have the benefit of your knowledge relating to them, and, if at the same time you know of any factual illustrations which would either prove or disprove the correctness of the CIO in that action, we would like to hear about it.

Mr. ROMANO. Yes; I have that knowledge, and I might say this on it: The party at one time dominated approximately 20 international unions in the CIO, and 12 of these unions were expelled from the CIO. The party felt that once they dominated these unions they practically owned these unions. They felt that they owned these unions. But time has proven that the gyrations of the party reacted like a cancer in the American labor movement, and many of the leaders of the CIO recognized that.

The beginning of the end of the influence of the Communists or the Communist Party in the CIO took place, in my opinion, at the

UAW convention in 1946 when the most anti-Communist labor leader in America, Walter P. Reuther, was elected president of the UAW-CIO. That started a chain reaction which ended up in the expulsion of these 12 unions. The election of Reuther was followed by the breaking of Curran in the Maritime from the Communist Party domination; Quill in the Transportation Workers Union broke with the Communist Party in 1947, I understand. The setting for the expulsion of these unions, to the best of my knowledge, took place in 1947 at the CIO convention in Portland, where, under the leadership of Reuther and other strong anti-Communists, they put the Communist Party within the CIO on the spot and told them to stop and desist—it was written right into the constitution—to stop and desist from interfering with the CIO. However, the party never paid any attention to it.

In the 1949 Cleveland convention, the UE was expelled by convention action because of its gyrations, because of the Communist Party line. But the outstanding example of the whole 12 was the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Union which, for a period of 12 years, followed the Communist Party line from A to Z. Their program and their activities were pointed up to achieve the Communist Party program in America and not the legitimate hopes and aspirations of the CIO program, and the facts prove it.

In 1938, the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Union through its propaganda arm, their newspaper, fought for a collective security program, and if you will recall that period of collective security where Russia was demanding the revision of the Neutrality Act, they were demanding embargo of food and goods to Italy, Germany, and Spain and other Fascist countries, but in 1939 when the Russian-Nazi pact took place, the line changed, and so did the line of the Mine, Mill, and Smelters' Union. Its president and its newspaper then elevated to the sainthood Mussolini, Hitler, Franco, Tojo, and all the Fascist forces in the world. They started what was known at that time as the American Peace Mobilization program, and of course the question comes up: How do you spell "peace"—do you spell it, p-i-e-c-e, a piece of a country at a time, or do you spell it, p-e-a-c-e. We know exactly how Hitler spelled it and we know today exactly how Russia spells it, a piece of somebody's you-know-what.

Then came June 22, 1941, when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, and the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers' paper, which was printed on the day before and which was issued under the date of June 23, 1941, the presses had already rolled. We found that they were still attacking, much to their embarrassment, the American policy, attacking Roosevelt as a warmonger because he was for revision of the Neutrality Act and so forth and so on. They attacked Murray as a warmonger and as a Wall Streeter along with Hillman, Reuther, and the rest. But the day after Russia was attacked, the line gyrated again and the isolationists became the Fascists, became the warmongers. John L. Lewis became the Fascist, where just the day before he was being claimed as the great leader of the American labor movement because of his isolationist policies. And of course, in turn, according to their titles, Roosevelt, Murray, Hillman, Reuther, and all the rest were elevated to the sainthood once again and the others that they just left were relegated to the doghouse.

Then, of course, this political arm and the president of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union started drumming, beating the tom-toms for the second front. They started beating the tom-toms for all those other things during the war that would help speed victory for the great people's war, the great liberation front and et cetera which had come about over a period of 24 hours.

Then again we come to 1945 and 1946 and the line changed again. This time, the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union began to attack the Marshall plan, began to attack Truman as a warmonger because the American policy at that time was to feed and help the nations to resist communism in Europe and elsewhere. A resolution was brought up at the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union attacking both the United States and Russia because of their interest in Europe and elsewhere but this resolution was defeated in the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union because it attacked Russia, and Russia, according to its executive board and its president and its propaganda arm, could never be criticized or was above criticism.

Then, of course, came the Atlantic Pact which it resisted. It supported the coup in Czechoslovakia when Russia moved into Czechoslovakia to protect the people's front, the people's democracy of the great Soviet Union. In the meantime the membership of this particular union dropped from 100,000 to 44,000 members because its members were fed up with its anti-American policy and with its flag-waving of the Soviet flag.

Also, in 1940, this particular union along with the other 11 unions and several others which had broken in the meantime supported Willkie in preference to Roosevelt during that period because Roosevelt was a warmonger, if you will recall correctly, in 1940 prior to the attack of Hitler on Russia.

It supported Wallace in 1948 in the hope of defeating the Democratic party because again of its warmongering policies.

Then, also, it carried on a vicious attack upon the CIO itself, calling Murray a Wall Streeter in 1946, 1947, and 1948, and attacking him bitterly and even accused him of just using words to defeat the Taft-Hartley and other acts, and Murray was lying in a sick bed at that particular time, if I recall correctly. When he got out of the hospital, he immediately started to wield the ax upon the Communist-dominated unions. He started in 1940, but then he was elevated to the sainthood so quickly in 1941 that it wasn't the most opportune time, of course, to attack him at that time. But when he got out of the sick bed, he immediately called an executive board meeting of the national CIO and there broke relations with the World Federation of Trade Unions which was dominated and, in its embryonic stages, was formed in the Kremlin itself, and it is still in existence and is an arm of the Soviet Union as far as trade-unions in iron-curtain countries are concerned.

They never criticized the Soviet Union, as I said before, and they supported UE in their fight against expulsion, and the only defense that the record shows that these people in the United Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union and the other 11 unions put up was this defense: That by kicking these unions out, you would destroy the American labor movement. But subsequent events proved that nothing could have been further from the truth.

You see, these people, when they are on the spot always hide behind the cloak of labor, always point up the fact that by destroying them, you are destroying the labor movement. But since they were expelled from the CIO, the CIO has become a better, a more responsible and a bigger union than before because with these 12 unions which originally left with a membership of a million and some members, it is now reduced to around 600,000 members or less at the present time, and as time goes on, they will meet complete oblivion, in my estimation, because as I said before, communism has nothing in common with the working people in America, and the leaders of the CIO recognize this and have made a major contribution—I want to repeat that—a major contribution in defeating the forces of communism within the CIO. They have proved that. And they did it by democratic action. That is what counts, democratic action, because they can't point up in other countries that they are being kicked out by violent or other means—by democratic action, by changing the constitution of the CIO. I think that is very, very important in the same manner as people today when they vote these people out of office, they deal them a more destructive blow than they would by throwing them out of the plant because they can't go crying that the people acted as a mob of violence, and so forth, but through the processes of democracy, and although those processes may be slow, they are forever supreme.

Mr. TAVENNER. Notwithstanding the fact that the CIO expelled these unions for Communist Party activities, do you know whether or not any of the leaders in the UAW have, since their expulsion, given them encouragement or counseled or helped them in any manner?

Mr. ROMANO. Who do you mean?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is, those organizations which were expelled by the CIO.

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. Were they what?

Mr. TAVENNER. Have any officials of local 600 assisted those ousted unions in any way, to your knowledge?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. Now that you mention it, Pat Rice took up the cudgels for the UE in an election that was being held in St. Joseph, Mich., about a year ago. He wrote a letter to this particular UE president of this particular local, telling him that the actions of the UAW of which he was an executive in a local capacity, in local 600, was acting in the detriment of the best interests of the workers by challenging an election at that particular local union, and because of this letter the UAW lost its election; and this same letter was used in the Burroughs election in this particular city by the UE, who was also a contending party in this election.

Also, last summer, in August, Pat Rice attended a convention of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers in Arizona, where he attacked both the foreign policy of the United States and the policy of the UAW-CIO in a speech he made before this particular convention.

Mr. TAVENNER. And both of those incidents were after the CIO had expelled those international unions from its organizations?

Mr. ROMANO. That is right, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall any instances where high functionaries of the Communist Party appeared before conferences or conventions of local units of the Communist Party in Detroit?

Mr. ROMANO. Yes. In 1943 Williamson, executive secretary or secretary of the Communist Party in the United States did attend that particular convention. He was some sort of a secretary. I forget what it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether he had any special mission with the people of this area who were members of the party?

Mr. ROMANO. No, I don't recall. I just saw him at the convention.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is he one of the 11 Communists who were convicted as the top leaders in the Communist Party?

Mr. ROMANO. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether there were other high functionaries who appeared here?

Mr. ROMANO. Earl Browder appeared at the rally in 1943. I remember that; and Betty Gannett, who was a functionary, appeared on several occasions. She was on the national committee, I think. That is all I can remember offhand.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I believe I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter, any questions?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. Romano, in discussing assistance in a strike, you mentioned the IWO Garibaldi Society, I believe. Is that a Communist-front organization?

Mr. ROMANO. It definitely is a Communist-front organization.

Mr. WALTER. Who are the officers of that Italian society?

Mr. ROMANO. I don't recall right now who the officers were at that time. As I said, I never attended a membership meeting. I attended a couple of meetings in different people's homes, but I never actually attended a membership meeting.

Mr. WALTER. Well, I, for one, want to express to you my thanks for doing what you have done today. It has been very disturbing to me to see the large number of people accepting the hospitality of our shores and in a very short time attempting to thrust on the American people a different form of government. As one who was not born in the United States, it is indeed refreshing to find that you have the courage to come here and make the kind of a contribution that is far more significant than you or anyone else within the hearing of my voice for the moment appreciates. Perhaps it is equivalent to a division of soldiers. Who knows? But it is only because of men who have courage such as you have exhibited that the American people will become aware, particularly those poor misguided victims of all sorts of things who just don't and can't analyze or reason, and you have brought to them, I am certain to a great many of them, a full realization that after all, our beloved Republic didn't become a leader today through any choice, but whether we like it or not, that is what we are, and I think you are entitled to a great deal of credit in this world-wide conflict that is now being waged.

Mr. ROMANO. May I beg your indulgence? I would like to say a word, sir: In this whole matter, transcending the whole thing, I find this in my experience: that there is no shortcut to Shangri-La or Utopia; that we, the American people, I sincerely and honestly feel, can resolve the problems of our people providing the people are ready

and willing to sacrifice time and participate in their government, participate in the organizations that make up our way of life such as veterans' organizations, religious organizations, labor organizations, and many others.

And I say to the American people: Let us not blame Wall Street and the others for our problems. It is time that we begin to blame ourselves, because in America we have the tools with which to work. The American Constitution and the American Bill of Rights give us those guarantees, and if we will take the time and sacrifice and breathe life into every single word of that Constitution and that Bill of Rights, take it off the shelves and make every word mean something, then no one in America will ever have to fear totalitarianism, fascism, or any other form of government.

And I might add, sir—pardon me—in view of the fact that Mr. Albertson, acting chairman of the Communist Party of Michigan—I understand that he has challenged you to a debate. I, as an ex-Communist, challenge him publicly to a debate on the role of the Communist Party in reference to the American working people. I challenge him on television, radio, or anywhere else, now or at any time in the future!

Thank you.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Romano, I want to join with my colleague, Mr. Walter, in expressing my thanks. I think that you have out of your experience and your knowledge of the nature and extent of the Communist conspiracy, contributed a great deal to public information on the subject.

I want to refer back, however, in very unequivocal terms to the responsibility of organized labor to clean house from within. You are quite right that it should be done by the democratic process within the framework of the constitution and bylaws, but I would certainly hope as an individual that this great labor organization will continue the work that it commenced in the expelling of the Communist-dominated unions, and will see that the forces which seek the destruction not only of the constitutions of unions but of the Constitution of the United States are dealt with promptly and effectively.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. Mr. Romano, I, too, want to join my colleagues in thanking you for your testimony here today not only to the Committee on Un-American Activities but to the American people. Your experience in the field of labor, of course, will give your testimony a great deal of weight, much more so than probably that of any other witness we have had or possibly will have during our hearings. I hope that other people, other persons who have had the same experience as you have had within the Communist Party after you found out and realized the international conspiracy of the Communist Party and you realized that communism and Americanism cannot lie down side by side, that they will follow your example and aid not the committee but aid the American people in a better understanding of the menace that we have here within our own borders.

Here we are today spending billions and billions of dollars, and we are reaching into the homes of practically every American family and taking the youth and forcing them to make life's greatest sacrifice, the sacrifice of putting their own lives in jeopardy. We are do-

ing this to fight and contain communism abroad. Now, it is inconceivable to me that we should make the great sacrifices to contain and fight communism abroad and to allow this cancerous menace to grow unhindered within our own borders.

And I wish to state again that it has taken a great deal of personal courage on your part to come before this committee and give the testimony that you have today. Your name will be blackened by the Communist press and all the fellow travelers in the Detroit area. You will be called a stool pigeon and many other names which is a typical Communist means to counteract somebody who attempts to aid his Government in this fight. I think you must consider yourself the same as a man in the front lines, a man who is given a job of reporting intelligence information to his military unit. You have here given our Government an intelligence report and information the same as a man on patrol in a combat zone gives intelligence information from patrol work and activity that he has been on.

So to you, Mr. Romano, I wish to heartily thank you for your appearance here today.

Mr. WOOD. Are there any further questions, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason that you know of why this witness shouldn't be excused from further attendance?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. I join with my colleagues in expressing to you our appreciation for your coming here, and I hope that your appearance hasn't caused you any considerable inconvenience.

With our sincere appreciation, you may be excused unless the committee sends for you further.

Mr. ROMANO. Thank you, gentlemen.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Carl J. Turner.

Mr. WOOD. Will you rise and be sworn, please?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TURNER. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel, sir?

Mr. TURNER. I am.

Mr. WOOD. Will counsel please identify himself for the record, including his professional address?

Mr. GOODMAN. My name is Ernest Goodman, with offices in the Cadillac Tower Building, Detroit, Mich.

TESTIMONY OF CARL J. TURNER, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, ERNEST GOODMAN

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mr. TURNER. Carl J. Turner.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. TURNER. I was born in Knoxville, Tenn., May 13, 1905.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you now live in Detroit?

Mr. TURNER. I live in Detroit at the present, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Detroit?

Mr. TURNER. I have lived in Detroit since 1929.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you now employed?

Mr. TURNER. I am employed with the Ford Motor Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you held any position within the UAW or local 600?

Mr. TURNER. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position?

Mr. TURNER. As the recording secretary of the Spring and Upset Unit, a district committeeman within that unit. Also I served on various committees in the PAC and Welfare.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you recording secretary?

Mr. TURNER. From 1947 into 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has received testimony from Mr. Walter Dunn that you were a member of the Communist Party, and you have just been identified by the witness who left the stand, Mr. Romano, as having been a member of the Communist Party. Will you tell the committee, please, whether or not Mr. Dunn and Mr. Romano told the truth about that or whether they were false statements?

Mr. TURNER. In view of my rights under the fifth amendment, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused from further attendance?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. It is so ordered.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. James M. Simmons.

Mr. WOOD. Will you be sworn, please?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SIMMONS. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES M. SIMMONS, ACCCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, ERNEST GOODMAN

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mr. SIMMONS. James M. Simmons.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Simmons?

Mr. SIMMONS. Born on December 17, 1912.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. SIMMONS. In the outskirts of Sarnia, Ontario, Canada.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. SIMMONS. Sometime prior to World War I.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you enter the United States by a legal visa which entitled you to permanent residence in the United States?

Mr. SIMMONS. I feel as though I had because I didn't have anything to do with my parents bringing me here.

Mr. TAVENNER. I see. I wasn't questioning it. I just wanted to know.

How long have you lived in Detroit?

Mr. SIMMONS. Since approximately 1922—about 22 years approximately; since 1930.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a United States citizen?

Mr. SIMMONS. That I am given to understand because of the fact that my father was an American citizen.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has been told by Mr. Romano who just left the stand that you were a vice president at the plastic building of the Ford Motor plant; is that correct?

Mr. SIMMONS. That is incorrect.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you held a position with the union, local 600?

Mr. SIMMONS. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. What positions have you held?

Mr. SIMMONS. Since 1942 I held the position of rank-and-file member of that local union, district committeeman, council member, bargaining committee member, financial secretary for a couple of years, recording secretary for a couple of years.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what plant?

Mr. SIMMONS. The plastic unit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. I did not mean to interrupt you. Just continue if there are other positions.

What official position do you now hold, if any?

Mr. SIMMONS. Recording secretary of the plastic unit.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have been identified by Mr. Romano as having been a member of the Communist Party, and Mr. O'Hair, the first witness in these hearings, identified you as a member of the Mid Town Club of the Communist Party of the State of Michigan. What do you have to say to the committee about that?

Mr. SIMMONS. To a statement of that nature, inasmuch as I deserve the right as an individual to my opinion, I feel as though that Mr. O'Hair, with all due respect to him and the committee, that I will refuse to answer that, on the basis of the question on the same ground which is offered by me and my counsel, that I will not answer that question on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You said "with all due respect to Mr. O'Hair." Did you mean that Mr. O'Hair was telling the truth, but you don't want to say whether he was or not?

Mr. SIMMONS. I never met the man. I don't know him. And I refuse to answer any questions relative to Mr. O'Hair and his accusations on the basis of the fact of the rights provided to me under the fifth amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Mr. Romano telling the truth here a few moments ago when he identified you as having been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to answer that on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SIMMONS. I also refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SIMMONS. Again I also refuse to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Wood. Any questions, Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. Wood. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused from further attendance?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. Wood. It is so ordered.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Leon England.

Mr. Wood. Would you be sworn, please?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ENGLAND. I do.

TESTIMONY OF LEON ENGLAND

Mr. Wood. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. ENGLAND. I am not.

Mr. Wood. Do you desire counsel?

Mr. ENGLAND. I do not.

Mr. Wood. If, during the course of your interrogation, it becomes, in your opinion, necessary or expedient for you to have counsel, you will be given ample opportunity to get one.

Mr. ENGLAND. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mr. ENGLAND. Leon England.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. ENGLAND. I was born December 8, 1906, in Birmingham, Ala.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been in Detroit?

Mr. ENGLAND. Since 1940.

Mr. TAVENNER. How have you been employed in Detroit?

Mr. ENGLAND. I have been working for the Chrysler Motor Co. since I have been in Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were identified by Mrs. Toby Baldwin as having been a member of the Joe Hill Club of the Communist Party. Will you tell the committee whether or not that is true?

Mr. ENGLAND. Well, I was a member of the Communist Party in 1946 and somewhere approximately between 1947 and 1948. I don't remember the exact date. I disavowed the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why?

Mr. ENGLAND. Because I found the Communist Party to be a phony organization that was supposed to be fighting for the rights of the Negro people, and in my opinion it wasn't. It didn't want to see the Negro question solved.

Mr. POTTER. In other words, they wanted to keep the Negro question as an issue rather than to solve it?

Mr. ENGLAND. In my opinion, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you had any connection or affiliation with the party since that time?

Mr. ENGLAND. No; I have not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you intend to go back to the party?

Mr. ENGLAND. Not if I live to be 100 years old.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter, have you any questions?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POTTER. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why this witness should not be excused from further attendance?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. It is so ordered.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Mack Cinzori.

Mr. WOOD. You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CINZORI. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MACK CINZORI, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, ERNEST GOODMAN

Mr. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. CINZORI. I am.

Mr. GOODMAN. My name is Ernest Goodman, with offices in the Cadillac Tower, Detroit, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mr. CINZORI. Mack Cinzori.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. CINZORI. I was born in 1909 in Pennsylvania.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where in Pennsylvania?

Mr. CINZORI. Coalbluff.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your educational background?

Mr. CINZORI. I have had an eighth-grade education.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you now live in Detroit?

Mr. CINZORI. I live in Dearborn.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Dearborn?

Mr. CINZORI. For approximately 22 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you now employed?

Mr. CINZORI. I am a die maker in the Ford plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you held any official position in local 600?

Mr. CINZORI. I was at one time a sergeant-of-arms, and at the present I am a committeeman, district committeeman. I might add I was elected.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you elected?

Mr. CINZORI. I have been elected approximately 7 years in a row.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you have been identified by a witness who preceded you today, Mr. Romano, as having been a member of the Communist Party. Is that true or not?

Mr. CINZORI. Well, I fought people like Romano back in 1937, 1938, and 1939—and as the result I lost my job—building a union in the

Ford Motor Co., in spite of people like Romano, and Romano never showed up those days—

Mr. TAVENNER. Now will you answer my question?

Mr. Wood. Make your answer responsive to the question if you will, sir. You were asked whether or not—

Mr. CINZORI. Invoking my privilege under the fifth amendment, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CINZORI. Invoking my privilege under the fifth amendment, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CINZORI. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons mentioned before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. William O'Dell Nowell in testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities identified you as having been a member of the Communist Party. Do you know Mr. William O'Dell Nowell?

Mr. CINZORI. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Wood. Any questions, Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. Wood. Is there any reason why this witness shouldn't be excused from further attendance?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. Wood. It is so ordered.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Thomas Jelley.

Mr. Wood. Will you be sworn, please.

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. JELLEY. I do.

Mr. Wood. Let the record show Mr. Jelley is represented by Mr. Goodman.

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS JELLEY, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, ERNEST GOODMAN

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Mr. Thomas C. Jelley?

Mr. JELLEY. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Jelley?

Mr. JELLEY. I was born in Dayton, Ohio, July 30, 1907.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell your last name?

Mr. JELLEY. J-e-l-l-e-y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Jelley, how are you now employed?

Mr. JELLEY. I am employed at the Ford Motor Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what capacity and in what plant?

Mr. JELLEY. My classification at present is die try-out. That is the basic of die making. My position in there as a union representative is a committeeman.

Mr. TAVENNER. What other positions with local 600 have you held?

Mr. JELLEY. I have been a general council delegate ever since its inception with the exception of this past year, I did not run.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been employed at the Ford Motor Co.?

Mr. JELLEY. Since 1925.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have been identified in testimony before this committee given by Mr. Romano, Mr. Lee Romano, as having been a member of the Communist Party. Do you wish to deny or affirm that statement, that testimony?

Mr. JELLEY. I would like to answer that in this way: I joined this union back in 1936. From 1936 to 1941 I attended many meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well now—

Mr. JELLEY. I am saying it my own way, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. Now, I am not certain I understand what organization you are speaking of. Are you speaking of the Communist Party?

Mr. JELLEY. I am speaking of the UAW-CIO.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well now, I didn't ask you about that. I asked you with regard to your membership in the Communist Party.

Mr. GOODMAN. Can't the witness answer it in his own way?

Mr. WOOD. If he will answer the question. I don't want him to go into detailed statements here about other organizations.

Mr. JELLEY. But Mr. Chairman—

Mr. WOOD. Just a minute. It would be just as pertinent to go into the question of church membership or any other membership as it is anything except what he asked about.

Mr. GOODMAN. He is talking about local 600, sir, which you are interested in, apparently.

Mr. WOOD. You are interested in local 600. We are interested in communism.

Mr. GOODMAN. The last witness certainly explained his answers sufficiently. This man just wants a minute in explanation of his answer. Certainly it is not unreasonable.

Mr. WOOD. It isn't unreasonable. It is just not responsive.

Mr. GOODMAN. I submit that the last witness gave a lot of answers that were not responsive.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JELLEY. I started to answer you, sir, before as to when I joined this union, what the implications were since 1936 on. We have had a big fight on our hands to organize that plant even to the degree where they tried to burn my house down.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JELLEY. Would you please let me answer in my own way?

Mr. TAVENNER. No. You are not answering my question.

Mr. JELLEY. I tried to tell you it is political from the very beginning.

Mr. WOOD. You have an opportunity to answer whether you were a member or not.

Mr. JELLEY. That's what I'm trying to do. I am trying to answer it. It is political from the very beginning.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it Communist from the very beginning as far as you were concerned?

Mr. JELLEY. Mr. Chairman, what are you trying to do, put words in my mouth? I want to answer it to the best of my ability.

Mr. Wood. All right. Now listen—

Mr. JELLEY. I have been a committeeman—

Mr. Wood. Just a moment. It is a very simple question. You know whether you are now a member of the Communist Party or not.

Mr. JELLEY. I am trying—

Mr. Wood. Don't you know that?

Mr. JELLEY. I am trying to tell you the implications.

Mr. Wood. We are not asking for any implications. We are asking for a fact.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I would suggest that the witness be directed on the record to answer the question of counsel.

Mr. Wood. I am going to direct him to do that now. Answer the question that has been asked you now: Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JELLEY. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. Wood. You are directed to answer that question.

Mr. JELLEY. Mr. Chairman, you allowed people to speak around and still you are denying me that right.

Mr. Wood. Wait until you answer that question. We will let you speak then all you want to about it after you answer it, if you will answer it truthfully. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JELLEY. You won't let me answer it my own way?

Mr. Wood. I will let you answer the question.

Mr. JELLEY. Not in my own way?

Mr. Wood. There isn't but one way to answer it, yes or no.

Mr. JELLEY. I will refuse to answer that under the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JELLEY. I refuse to answer that under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. Wood. Any questions, Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. JELLEY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a statement—

Mr. Wood. There is nothing to explain when you don't answer any questions for us.

Mr. JELLEY. I told you it was political to start off with. It is based on politics in the Government and the union too.

Mr. Wood. There is nothing political about it when a man refuses to answer questions.

Mr. JELLEY. It most certainly is political.

Mr. Wood. You are excused from further attendance.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Celia Edwards.

Mr. WOOD. Will you be sworn, please?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF CELIA EDWARDS, ACCCOMPANIED BY HER COUNSEL,
ERNEST GOODMAN**

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Mrs. Celia Edwards?

Mrs. EDWARDS. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mrs. Edwards?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I was born September 10, 1917, in Manistee, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, briefly what your educational training has been?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I have had 8 years of grade school, 2 years of high, and I have gone to night classes for a couple of years.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Detroit?

Mrs. EDWARDS. It is going on 12 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. How have you been employed since you lived in Detroit?

Mrs. EDWARDS. For 2 months I did housework. Then I was unemployed until September 3 of 1946. I was unemployed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes?

Mrs. EDWARDS. That is when I first hired in at Ford local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the nature of your employment at Ford local 600?

Mrs. EDWARDS. You mean at the present time?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, from 1946 on.

Mr. GOODMAN. Mr. Chairman, my client would appreciate it if the photographers would hold their pictures until she is through. She is not used to it.

Mr. WOOD. Is that your wish?

Mrs. EDWARDS. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Very well. I will ask the photographers to respect that wish.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been the nature of your employment at local 600 since 1946, when you first became employed?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I started as a file clerk and then I worked in the mimeograph, and at the present time I am classed as a stenographer.

Mr. WOOD. I wonder if you would cooperate with the committee to the extent of elevating your voice just a little because we can't hear you up here.

Mrs. EDWARDS. I am sorry.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with the existence of a club or cell of the Communist Party known as the Fenkell Club?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I refuse to answer that under the provisions of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of a letter which I will first read. It is as follows:

DEAR COMRADE: There will be a very important meeting this Wednesday, February 6, at 730S—

it appears to be C-h-a-l--f-o-n—

8 o'clock p. m. sharp. We are meeting with a group of Diesel plant strikers to discuss the formation of a new branch. It is extremely important that we meet with these workers and help them with their problems.

A mass rally will be held Thursday, February 7, to discuss the Negro in Postwar World—sponsored by the LaBell and the Fenkell Clubs. It will take place at 15592 Inverness.

Comradely yours,

FENKELL CLUB.

Do you know what the address 7308 Chalfonte was in 1946?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I refuse to answer that under the provisions of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you meet with any group of Diesel plant strikers to discuss the formation of a new branch?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I refuse to answer that for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the photostatic copy of the letter in evidence and ask it be marked "Edwards Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. Wood. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Edwards Exhibit No. 1" and received in evidence.)

Mr. GOODMAN. By the way, do you furnish counsel with copies of exhibits?

Mr. Wood. Let the counsel examine it.

Mr. GOODMAN. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever lived at 7308 Chalfonte?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you live in 1945?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you live now?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I would prefer not answering that either.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I am sorry but I can't respect your wishes about that.

Mrs. EDWARDS. With the publicity there has been within the last few weeks I prefer to withhold my present address because of the children.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand. Will you write it on a sheet of paper and hand it to the chairman, and with the chairman's permission it will be kept confidential.

(Whereupon Mrs. Edwards followed the suggestion of Mr. Tavenner.)

Mrs. EDWARDS. After all, the papers do play up everything. I am the mystery woman who has been sitting here for days.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you become the mystery woman?

Mrs. EDWARDS. That was in the Detroit News, March 1, and I was here the 27th for 1 day.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now you have the privilege of removing all mysteries. You now have the privilege and opportunity of removing the mystery from the scene.

How long have you lived at the address which you just gave the chairman?

Mrs. EDWARDS. About a month and a half.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that where did you live?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I refuse to answer that under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived at that address which you now refuse to give?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of another letter and ask you if you have ever seen the original or one similar to it. Will you read it, please?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I have read it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you read it into the record?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I prefer your reading it, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You do?

Mrs. EDWARDS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. Hand it to me, please. [Reading:]

DEAR COMRADE: We take this opportunity to welcome you to the Fenkell Club, and look forward to greeting you in person.

This Sunday, December 30, we are mobilizing at the home of Celia Edwards, 7308 Chalfonte, 11:30 a. m., for a leaflet distribution in the neighborhood.

The leaflet is on the necessity for bringing our marines out of China, and was issued by our club.

We will be glad to have you join us for this mobilization.

Comradely yours,

EXECUTIVE BOARD, FENKELL CLUB.

It bears date of December 28, 1945. Are you the Celia Edwards mentioned in this letter?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I refuse to answer under the provisions of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was a meeting held at your home at 7308 Chalfonte Street or any other place on December 30, 1945?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I refuse to answer under the same provisions.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the leaflets for distribution in the neighborhood referred to in this letter?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I refuse to answer for the same reason as given before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee what the proposal was in this club which seems to have originated in your club, to bring the marines out of China in 1945? Where did the inspiration for such resolution or leaflet as that come from?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I refuse to answer under the provisions of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to the testimony of Mrs. Toby Baldwin, I find this:

Cecelia Edwards is the wife of Byron Edwards who has also been known to work at Ford's. Whether he is working there now, I don't know. She attended a class with me at the School of Social Science at which Oscar Rhodes instructed on the science of society. That was held in 1948.

Did you attend such a class with Mrs. Baldwin?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I refuse to answer under the provisions of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to file the photostatic copy of the letter in evidence and ask it be marked "Edwards Exhibit No. 2."

Mr. Wood. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Edwards Exhibit No. 2" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes. Are you at present a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. EDWARDS. I believe I answered that question to the counsel before.

Mr. JACKSON. Well, we will just ask it again.

Mrs. EDWARDS. I refuse to answer under the provisions of the fifth amendment.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you. No further questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. I have no questions.

Mr. Wood. Is there any reason why this witness shouldn't be excused from further attendance?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. Wood. It is so ordered.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. James Watts.

Mr. WOOD. Will you be sworn, please?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God? .

Mr. WATTS. I do.

Mr. Wood. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. WATTS. The best.

Mr. Wood. Well, irrespective of the caliber of counsel, are you represented by counsel?

Mr. WATTS. Yes, I am.

Mr. Wood. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. CROCKETT. George W. Crockett, Jr., 3220 Cadillac Tower, Detroit, Mich.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES WATTS, ACCCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, GEORGE W. CROCKETT, JR.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name?

Mr. WATTS. My name is James Watts.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you born, and when?

Mr. WATTS. I was born in either 1919 or 1921. I am not certain. My parents are dead. My aunt and uncle aren't quite certain. I was born in the lynch State of Georgia, in the city of Macon.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you leave the State of Georgia?

Mr. WATTS. I left there when I was about 6 months old.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where have you lived since that time?

Mr. WATTS. I lived in the city of New York for about 4 years. The balance of the time I have lived in the city of Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you now employed?

Mr. WATTS. I am presently employed by Ford Local 600. I am the fair-employment-practice director.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been the fair-employment-practice director?

Mr. WATTS. Since May 15, 1950.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that time did you hold any official position with local 600?

Mr. WATTS. Prior to that time, starting back in 1941, I was chief steward, district committeeman, building secretary, vice president, president of the foundry, international representative. I have run the gamut.

Mr. TAVENNER. Those are elective offices?

Mr. WATTS. They are all elective offices except the international representative, which is an appointive position.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have been rather prominent in the work of your union, have you not?

Mr. WATTS. I have been rather proudly prominent.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you also at the same time been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WATTS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment, and refuse to answer that question.

(Whereupon the ensuing remarks were expunged from the record by direction of the chairman.)

Mr. WOOD. Leave that out of the record, Mr. Reporter. Answer the questions please for this committee.

Mr. WATTS. I haven't too much confidence in your judgment of anything.

Mr. WOOD. We are not concerned about your opinion of our judgment. You are here to answer questions.

Mr. WATTS. I am not concerned about your opinion.

Mr. WOOD. Well, mine might be a little better.

Mr. WATTS. Mine is the the same thing.

Mr. WOOD. That makes it unanimous.

Mr. TAVENNER. You came here with the intention of causing a scene?

Mr. WATTS. I didn't come here with the intention of causing a scene. I know every member of the committee is anti-Negro. I know every member of the committee is opposed to President Truman's civil-rights program and the record so indicates.

Mr. WALTER. The record doesn't so indicate. If you had done one-tenth for the cause of the Negro I have done, you wouldn't be ashamed to answer the question.

Mr. WATTS. My heart bleeds for you—you love me.

Mr. WOOD. One more outburst of that character and I will ask the officer to eject you from this hearing room.

Mr. WATTS. I didn't come here on my own accord; you subpenaed me.

Mr. WOOD. If you are not going to be decorous, you are not going to stay. This is not a farce; this is serious business.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you testify in a proceeding or trial—

Mr. WATTS. This is serious business. I have a picture here of a Negro being lynched in the State of Georgia. I think that is serious too.

Mr. WOOD. Keep your mouth shut until you are asked questions.

Mr. WATTS. One of the Negroes was being lynched in Georgia.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you got more pictures in your pocket that you want to show? Are you through?

Mr. WATTS. I am through.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. Will you answer the question?

Mr. WATTS. I certainly will.

Mr. TAVENNER. Please answer it.

Mr. WATTS. Would you repeat the question?

Mr. TAVENNER. I didn't think you were listening. Did you participate as a witness in the trial in 1950 in local 600 of Paul Boatman, Nelson Davis, Ed Lock, Dave Moore, and others possibly who were charged with having been members of the Communist Party or having been subservient to it?

Mr. WATTS. I refuse to answer that question invoking my privilege under the fifth amendment plus also yesterday you said that you had answers to all of these questions yourself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, if the witness does not desire to answer about his testimony under oath in the trial in local 600, I have no desire to ask him any further questions.

Mr. Wood. Any questions Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Jackson, do you have any questions of the witness?

Mr. JACKSON. No; I have no questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. I'd like to amend that. There is one question I'd like to ask him and maybe two. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WATTS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and I think you have the answer to that one also.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WATTS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and I refuse to answer that. That is one of the few amendments of any advantage to me as a Negro. The fifteenth amendment serves no value. It says Congress shall make laws to see that I have the right to vote.

(Whereupon the ensuing remarks were expunged from the record by direction of the chairman.)

Mr. Wood. The tirade given here about the members of the committee will be expunged from the record physically.

Mr. JACKSON. Either the witness is entirely ignorant of what he is talking about or else he is terribly misinformed. It so happens that in my case I have voted for the repeal of the antipoll tax and have expressed myself as being favorable for the Federal antilynch legislation.

Mr. WATTS. It is specifically to the chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. I think you brought my name into the matter and I think in justice to my position on the legislation it should be made perfectly clear.

(Whereupon the ensuing remarks were expunged from the record by direction of the chairman.)

Mr. Wood. Let that be expunged from the record. The veracity of the witness will not be questioned by members of this committee here, if there are other forums to do it in. The facts do speak for themselves. Is there any further question?

Mr. TAVENNER. No questions.

Mr. Wood. The witness is excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I call Mr. Ed Lock.

Mr. Wood. Will you please stand and be sworn.

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LOCK. Yes.

**TESTIMONY OF EDGAR LOCK, ACCCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL,
ERNEST GOODMAN**

Mr. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. GOODMAN. I represent this witness, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. LOCK. My name is Edgar Lock.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell your last name?

Mr. LOCK. L-o-c-k.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. LOCK. I was born in the city of River Rouge, Mich., October 3, 1912.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your educational background, please, sir?

Mr. LOCK. I attended grammar school and attended several years of high school and graduated from the Henry Ford Trade School and had several sessions in night school.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you now live in Detroit?

Mr. LOCK. I want to make a statement here about my address. The subpoena I received has an address I used 15 years ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. We'd be very happy to correct it.

Mr. LOCK. It is the address I retained only with the Ford Motor Co. For all other purposes of my business, I have used the addresses I have lived at since 15 years ago which clearly indicates to me there is collusion between this committee and the Ford Motor Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your address?

Mr. LOUCK. My address now currently is 3213 Culver Street, Dearborn, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Dearborn?

Mr. LOCK. Approximately 1 year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that where did you live?

Mr. LOCK. Prior to that, I lived in the city of Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long had you lived in Detroit?

Mr. LOCK. I had lived in Detroit 15 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Your employment has been with the Ford Motor Co. for some time, has it not?

Mr. LOCK. Almost all of my natural life. I started employment with the Ford Trade School when I was 13 years old in the year of 1927.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the branch of your employment over there, or the building?

Mr. LOCK. I am currently employed in the plastics unit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you held any major official positions in local 600 recently?

Mr. LOCK. I am presently the chairman of the plastics unit, UAW-CIO.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Lock, an examination of page 5 of Ford Facts for February 16, 1952, discloses an article entitled "Committee Is

Utterly Rotten, Claims Ed Lock." The heading underneath that is the heading in black type, "Ed Lock, President." Did you write that article?

Mr. GOODMAN. The witness would like to look at the article.

Mr. LOCK. I think that this question as to whether I wrote that article or not is an internal matter of my union, a question you have no right to pry into and I say that and I refuse to answer whether I wrote the article or not based upon my obligation of office and membership in the UAW in which I took an oath that I would not reveal the internal proceedings of our union.

Mr. TAVENNER. This is not a matter of union procedure. It is a matter of fact as to whether or not you wrote an article which appears over your name. Of course, if the union did it instead of you, why that might be a different proposition.

Mr. WOOD. Not even if the union did it—if it was published in the public press.

Mr. LOCK. You can see as well as I can that there is an article appearing in this paper under my name.

Mr. WALTER. Are you the Ed Lock that wrote it?

Mr. LOCK. I invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I notice at the end of the article there is this paragraph:

Read the columns of the other units that likewise deal with the un-American committee.

What are those articles to which you referred?

Mr. LOCK. I might mention that that I don't believe appears over my name, that part of the column.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is part of the article. There is no separation of any kind between it. You mean that that was not part of the article as originally submitted to Ford Facts?

Mr. LOCK. As far as the article is concerned, I want to say this about it: I subscribed to everything that is in it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you write it?

Mr. LOCK. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who did write it?

Mr. LOCK. I invoke my privileges and I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. You didn't write it, did you?

Mr. LOCK. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have testified to this and I don't recall what you said. What is your present position with local 600?

Mr. LOCK. I am a unit chairman of the plastics building.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has received evidence by Mrs. Baldwin that she was in many closed Communist Party sessions with you. Mr. Romano, who was on the stand this morning and this afternoon, testified or rather identified you as a person known to him to have been a member of the Communist Party. Walter Dunn in his testimony before this committee said he recalled an Ed Lock who was a member of the Communist Party. Were those statements true or false?

Mr. LOCK. I refuse to answer those questions and I invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LOCK. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LOCK. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness shouldn't be excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. It is so ordered.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I call Mr. Paul Boatin.

Mr. WOOD. Will you please stand and be sworn?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BOATIN. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF PAUL BOATIN

Mr. WOOD. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. GOODMAN. I represent Mr. Boatin.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name?

Mr. BOATIN. Paul Boatin.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. BOATIN. I was born in Italy, May 24, 1909.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you come to this country?

Mr. BOATIN. December of 1923 or thereabouts.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a citizen of the United States, that is naturalized citizen?

Mr. BOATIN. I became a citizen on my father's papers in 1927 or 1928. I took out my own derivative certificate 20 years later.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you do that here in Detroit?

Mr. BOATIN. Right in Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Detroit? You do live in Detroit now, do you not?

Mr. BOATIN. I live in Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Detroit?

Mr. BOATIN. I maintained permanent residence in Detroit since May or June of 1925.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you now employed?

Mr. BOATIN. I am employed at the Ford Motor Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what branch or building of the company?

Mr. BOATIN. The motor plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever held a position with local 600?

Mr. BOATIN. I have held the elective positions with local 600 ever since the inception of the union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you answer that question again or will the reporter read it to me?

Mr. BOATIN. I can answer it again.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. It will save time.

Mr. BOATIN. Thank you. I have held the elective office in the Ford local ever since we have had a union there.

Mr. TAVENNER. What are some of the principal offices which you held and the approximate dates?

Mr. BOATIN. Recording secretary of the motor plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. BOATIN. The exact date I can't establish; it might have been either December 1941 or January of 1942 up through 1943 or in 1944, I can't remember exactly.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then what other principal offices have you held?

Mr. BOATIN. After that for one or two or three terms, I am not sure, I was on the bargaining committee and served as chairman of the political-action committee throughout that period; I believe the political-action committee of the local.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever served on the political-action committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOATIN. That is a tricky question. The truth is I have never served on any political-action committee other than that of the local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is a frank answer to it. That is all I wanted to know.

Mr. BOATIN. Except that I realize that a union man before this committee—I am not going to try to be dramatic, you are the dramatic committee—a union man before this committee in spite of what you gentlemen will say, doesn't have much of an opportunity. I recall only recently—

Mr. WOOD. Let's not have speeches.

Mr. BOATIN. I have to point this up.

Mr. WOOD. You have answered the question.

Mr. BOATIN. I haven't answered it completely. I am in the process of answering it, Congressman, please.

Mr. WOOD. The answer that you give—

Mr. BOATIN. You voted against the 75 cents an hour minimum wage, which proves you are antilabor. I'd like to get that into my answer. Perhaps you don't like it and you think 75 cents an hour is too much for the working people. That is in the record. I have seen it. So you ask a lot of tricky questions to get people tripped up and you bring witnesses that are paid here to testify.

Mr. WOOD. Your answer is not responsive to the question. I am going to let it remain in the record because you asked that it go into the record and it is all right.

Mr. WALTER. Of course, your answer applies only to the chairman?

Mr. BOATIN. It applies to Congressman Wood, it applies to Congressman Jackson, and it applies to Congressman Potter, who all voted that the 75 cents an hour minimum wage was too high. It is in the Congressional Record.

Mr. JACKSON. Is your purpose in coming here today to impugn the Congress of the United States or the authority of this committee?

Mr. BOATIN. I am merely pointing out the fact that you have voted against the 75 cents an hour minimum wage.

Mr. JACKSON. You could have asked and I could have told you simply, but it is not a point in issue. This committee is in possession of letters of endorsement from units of organized labor supporting its investigation. Does that come as a shock to you? Do you know anything about it?

Mr. BOATIN. What investigation?

Mr. JACKSON. The investigation into the steel plants—Bethlehem at Sparrows Point.

Mr. BOATIN. Your committee has been condemned by organized labor throughout the country.

Mr. JACKSON. Our committee has been condemned by Communists in organized labor and probably will continue to be condemned by Communists. I would worry if the Communists in organized labor did not condemn the committee.

Mr. BOATIN. It was condemned by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Murphy, and Mrs. Roosevelt, the Catholic Churches and the CIO. I have got a resolution here from the CIO of 1951.

Mr. Wood. Off the record.

(Discussion was held off the record.)

Mr. Wood. Have you any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Mr. Boatin, an examination of page 3 of the February 16, 1952, issue of Ford Facts shows an article entitled "Who Is Un-American? Asks Brother Boatin." Did you write the article? Your name appears underneath the caption after Motor and Engine Plant, "Who Is Un-American? Asks Brother Paul Boatin"—"Paul Boatin, president." Did you write the article?

Mr. BOATIN. I am familiar with the contents.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you write it?

Mr. BOATIN. I endorsed the contents and I think they are true. It says your committee is un-American and it is here to create hysteria.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you write it?

Mr. BOATIN. It is a trick question. It speaks for itself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you write it?

Mr. BOATIN. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment on that one.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were identified in testimony before this committee by a Mr. Walter Dunn as a member of the Communist Party who testified here as well as by Mrs. Toby Baldwin, whose testimony was, "Paul Boatin is very well known about, and he has been very active and has also handed in reports on the Ford section closed Communist meetings, conferences, and so forth at which I attended." By the testimony of Mr. Lee Romano today, you are identified as having been at one time a member of the Communist Party. Is that testimony of those various individuals true or false?

Mr. BOATIN. All I know about Walter Dunn is that when I was in political action I saw him during—

Mr. Wood. We are not asking you for the history. We are asking you if what he said was true.

Mr. BOATIN. You had a speaker on this stand for 6 hours this morning. He talked and talked without restrictions. Now you are trying—

Mr. Wood. He answered questions.

Mr. BOATIN. You are trying to muzzle me. Will you allow me to answer, please?

Mr. Wood. Wait a minute now. The witness we had on the stand this morning answered the questions that were asked him. That is all we are asking you to do.

Mr. BOATIN. He made speeches.

Mr. Wood. Answer the questions frankly and truthfully that we are going to ask you. Then we will get you a soap box and you can speak all night, if you can answer.

Mr. BOATIN. You come out to the Ford local and talk to the workers.

Mr. WALTER. If you will admit you are a Communist, I will sit here until midnight and listen to you.

Mr. Wood. So will I, or if you will deny you are a Communist, I will do the same thing.

Mr. BOATIN. Look at the way you people are all jumping around.

Mr. Wood. I want you to answer the questions.

Mr. BOATIN. I will answer you but give me the opportunity.

Mr. Wood. All right. I will ask you as to the testimony that Mr. Dunn gave and the testimony that Mr. Romano gave today and Mrs. Baldwin gave the week before last to the effect that you were a member of the Communist Party, is any of it false?

Mr. BOATIN. You are telling me what the testimony was. I haven't seen it.

Mr. Wood. Then I will ask you, are you a member—

Mr. BOATIN. I am trying to answer it.

Mr. Wood. You say you haven't seen it.

Mr. BOATIN. The Free Press said Walter Dunn did not remember—did not know.

Mr. Wood. All right, I will ask you a question that you can understand: Are you a member of the Communist Party now?

Mr. BOATIN. Look, I am trying to get my point of view across here. We were called Communists long before I met you. You were probably calling people Communists down in Georgia when you were fighting for civil rights. You are even calling Truman a Communist. I saw where you called him an enemy in the Free Press here.

Mr. Wood. I am giving you an opportunity to determine that question. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOATIN. I want to get my position clear. You are not going to trap me.

Mr. Wood. Trap you by asking you if you are a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOATIN. You want to restrict the freedom of speech.

Mr. Wood. I want an answer to that question.

Mr. BOATIN. I am trying to get my ideas across to you.

Mr. Wood. Answer the question.

Mr. BOATIN. Through my mouth and not through yours.

Mr. Wood. Answer the question.

Mr. BOATIN. I trust my mouth more than I trust yours.

Mr. Wood. Answer the question.

Mr. BOATIN. I helped organize the union. I had to fight so-called anti-Communists including Romano who is receiving \$200 a week to come here and point his finger at me; Dunn possibly the same thing and Baldwin has been paid. I'd like to have the opportunity to explain my position. You don't want me to explain it.

Mr. Wood. I want you to answer the question.

Mr. BOATIN. I am trying to answer it.

Mr. Wood. Are you or not—

Mr. BOATIN. I said that Walter Dunn as I read it—you are interpreting what Dunn said about me.

Mr. Wood. Are you a Communist?

Mr. BOATIN. Walter Dunn talking about me—

Mr. Wood. I have been talking about you. I am asking you now. Are you going to answer my question or not? If you are not, we might as well end this argument.

Mr. BOATIN. Well look——

Mr. Wood. Are you going to answer the question?

Mr. BOATIN. I already charged this committee as being antilabor. The truth is that it is. . .

Mr. POTTER. We don't care about your charges.

Mr. Wood. We have asked you to answer a question. Are you going to answer it?

Mr. BOATIN. I am going to answer all questions. You will have to give me an opportunity. You are not all going to talk at the same time at me.

Mr. Wood. Just answer one. Are you going to answer the question or aren't you? Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOATIN. I am willing to tell the truth but you are going to have to give me an opportunity.

Mr. Wood. Answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. May I make the suggestion that the witness be directed to answer the question. If he doesn't, why then we can adjourn the committee.

Mr. Wood. I will ask you one more time and I direct you to answer the question. Are you now a member of the Communist Party? You are directed to answer it.

Mr. BOATIN. Will you give me a minute to consult with the attorney?

Mr. Wood. You have all the time to consult with counsel that you want.

Mr. BOATIN. All right. Mr. Tavenner and Congressman Wood——

Mr. Wood. I direct that you answer the question that I have asked: Are you a member of the Communist Party now?

Mr. BOATIN. I say it is common knowledge that I am not a member of the Communist Party but because of the antilabor natures of this committee I am forced to rely on the fifth amendment to protect my constitutional rights because you didn't give me my opportunity to present my viewpoint on the matter.

Mr. Wood. Do you refuse to answer the question?

Mr. BOATIN. I already answered it.

Mr. Wood. Is that the only answer you will give us?

Mr. BOATIN. That is an honest answer. That is the answer.

Mr. WOOD. Is that the only answer you will give us under the direction to answer; is that the only answer you will give us?

Mr. BOATIN. That is a fair answer.

Mr. Wood. Is that the only answer you will give us? That isn't what I asked you.

Mr. BOATIN. I thought the answer was fair. May I have it read back to me?

(Witness' answer was read.)

Mr. BOATIN. I consider that answer complete but I will add this: That because of the fifth amendment and because of the attempt being made here to deprive me of my rights to speak, I am relying on the provisions and privileges of the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. WOOD. Are there any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WALTER. You said it was common knowledge that you are not a Communist. Where is this knowledge common?

Mr. BOATIN. Congressman Walter, I say it is common knowledge because I have been elected—

Mr. WALTER. That isn't what you said. You said it is common knowledge that "I am not a Communist." I asked the question where the knowledge is common, because the only knowledge I have is that you are a Communist.

Mr. BOATIN. Don't twist what I said.

Mr. WALTER. That is exactly what you said; I wrote it down—"It is common knowledge that I am not a Communist." Now I have asked you the question where is this knowledge so common, and I asked the question because the only knowledge I have is that you are a Communist.

Mr. BOATIN. I said it is common knowledge that I am not a member of the Communist Party. You didn't give me the opportunity to finish the presentation of my viewpoint. I was going to answer your question.

Mr. WALTER. Where is this knowledge?

Mr. BOATIN. I am trying to tell you.

Mr. WALTER. Go ahead.

Mr. BOATIN. The workers that know me have relied on me, have confidence in me, and have voted me back into office in spite of all the accusations. You say you have knowledge. This isn't the first time this type of stuff is tried. It isn't the first time that Romano and others who are paid point the finger.

Mr. WALTER. Who are they paid by?

Mr. BOATIN. Here is a flag put out at the time I was elected. You can examine it. The workers reelected me by 3 to 1 over my opponent.

Mr. WALTER. You said the people were paid. By whom were they paid?

Mr. BOATIN. Romano—he is getting \$190 a week.

Mr. WALTER. From whom?

Mr. BOATIN. It is good money.

Mr. WALTER. Where is he getting that from?

Mr. BOATIN. He can tell you that.

Mr. JACKSON. Are you inferring that this committee is paying anyone for testimony?

Mr. BOATIN. No; I am not inferring that.

Mr. WOOD. Are there any further questions?

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. JACKSON. No further question.

Mr. POTTER. I have no questions.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness shouldn't be excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to ask one more question. You said you were elected a number of times. Did you make representation to the people that you were not a member of the Communist Party when you ran for election?

Mr. BOATIN. You are the one that is charging that I made representations that I am a member. You are asking a hypothetical question.

Mr. TAVENNER. No; that is not a hypothetical question. Did you represent to the people in your union when you ran for office that you were not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOATIN. It is one of those involved questions. Excuse me for a second. You are not here to do me any good, I know that. I have been an honest man—very honest. You can't point a finger at anything I have done and every time you look at me and smile I suspect something, brother.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. I'd like to have an answer to that one.

Mr. BOATIN. I have been trying to answer. I have watched you people pop off. I have got a few ideas, too. What is your question if I may have it clearly again?

Mr. TAVENNER. Read the question, please.

(The question was read by the official court reporter.)

Mr. BOATIN. Well, I could answer that question in two ways. I could answer it directly.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just answer it the correct way. That is all we want.

Mr. BOATIN. I can't give you a "Yes" or "No" answer; you don't expect that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, it could be answered "Yes" or "No" very simply.

Mr. BOATIN. You have been trying to get me into that and this is a world of ideas and we move ahead not on the basis of "Yes" or "No." That is the Hitler method.

Mr. WOOD. Well, did you represent that you are not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOATIN. How many questions am I going to get? I am willing to answer to Mr. Tavenner's question.

Mr. WOOD. Answer the question asked.

Mr. BOATIN. Tavenner's question?

Mr. WOOD. Yes.

Mr. BOATIN. It is a matter of common knowledge, Mr. Tavenner, publicized in the union papers at our local, that we took a loyalty oath and support the country and the Constitution. It is important that I go into all of it. I am sure you are familiar with it. I say it is common knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is common knowledge?

Mr. BOATIN. That such an oath was signed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; but that isn't my question. Did you represent to the people in your union when you ran for office that you were not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOATIN. Well, my answer to that one has to be that in a union where you fight for cleaner floors and higher wages and better working conditions, you present yourself to the people on the basis of a program dependent on what you are going to do for them in the shop, not in relation to Moscow and Stalin and communism. The people who try to bring communism into the question, usually are trying to obscure the facts.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you answer the question, please, sir?

Mr. BOATIN. I can't answer your question. I am trying to answer it in the way I ran for office and was elected every year. You know we get elected every year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you ran for office?

Mr. BOATIN. It is very clear you don't want the answers. I am going to rely on my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question. I have given an answer that it is common knowledge. I am not a member of the Communist Party. You are trying to twist it up.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you make the statement you are not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOATIN. I said it is common knowledge.

Mr. JACKSON. It is not common knowledge. We have three identifications of you as being a member of the Communist Party. Identification has been made as to you being a member. With whom is this common knowledge, Mr. Boatin? Certainly with 150 million Americans people it is not common knowledge.

Mr. BOATIN. You are interpreting what these people said about me.

Mr. JACKSON. I am interpreting sworn testimony under oath.

Mr. BOATIN. I saw it in the papers. Walter Dunn says he didn't know. Now that is what he said.

Mr. JACKSON. Let's put Mr. Dunn's testimony aside and assume he didn't know there are other identifications of you as a member of the Communist Party. Are you or are you not a member of the Communist Party? That is all we are concerned with.

Mr. BOATIN. I don't know what you mean by it. I have been called so many names that if I had spent all my time defending myself on these phony labels, I wouldn't have had an opportunity to do anything for the workers in the plant. They fired 3,000 of us for organizing the union.

Mr. JACKSON. Maybe if you had defended yourself against the charges some time prior to that you might not be suspected of participation in the international conspiracy directed against the United States of America. Did that ever occur to you?

Mr. BOATIN. You are conspiring; Mr. Potter was in Flint the other day making a statement we should use action and you made the statement before about throwing people out. That is not the democratic—

Mr. JACKSON. This committee enjoys the confidence of the people of the United States, and of the Congress of the United States. In your contempt which extends past this committee to the Congress of the United States and the people of the United States, you are demonstrating your contempt for the Congress and for the American people.

Mr. BOATIN. All I can say is all of you people are trying to make speeches so you can get yourself promoted up the political ladder. I have seen that happen. You will be running for better jobs.

Mr. JACKSON. We will be shot if your philosophy of government ever achieves domination.

Mr. BOATIN. I don't believe in violence and I have never preached violence against anybody. I resent your insinuation.

Mr. JACKSON. Don't be violent about this committee.

Mr. BOATIN. You talk about throwing people out. You made it from that seat, and you said it this afternoon about throwing people out of the plant.

Mr. JACKSON. I think that any Communist should be thrown out of his union and I think the loyal Americans in the union should see that it is done.

Mr. BOATIN. So far all you have done is pay people to make the accusations. You haven't brought one single worker—

Mr. WOOD. We have one now to deny it and you are refusing to do it. That ought to be a complete answer.

Mr. BOATIN. It is not a complete answer. It is a matter of opinion.

Mr. WOOD. You were given that opportunity and you haven't taken advantage of it. The witness is excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. WOOD. Do you desire to proceed further?

Mr. TAVENNER. I think that is all.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will stand in recess until 10 o'clock in the morning.

(Whereupon, at 5:30 p. m., the committee recessed to reconvene at 10 o'clock, Wednesday, March 12, 1952.)

COMMUNISM IN THE DETROIT AREA—PART 2

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 12, 1952

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Detroit, Mich.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met pursuant to call at 10 a. m. in room 740, Federal Building, Detroit, Mich., the Honorable John S. Wood (chairman), presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood, Francis E. Walter, Donald L. Jackson, and Charles E. Potter.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; John W. Carrington, clerk; and Donald T. Appell, investigator.

Mr. Wood. Let the committee come to order. Counsel are you ready to proceed?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir. I call Mr. Shelton Tappes.

Mr. Wood. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn please?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TAPPES. I do.

TESTIMONY OF SHELTON TAPPES

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name?

Mr. TAPPES. My name is Shelton Tappes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Tappes?

Mr. TAPPES. I was born in Omaha, Nebr., in 1911.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you outline briefly to this committee what your educational training has been?

Mr. TAPPES. I finished high school, spent one term in the University of Nebraska, and had several courses, extension courses, at the University of Michigan and Wayne University.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you now live in Detroit?

Mr. TAPPES. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived here?

Mr. TAPPES. I lived in Detroit since 1929.

Mr. TAVENNER. During that period of time what has been your major employment?

Mr. TAPPES. The Ford Motor Co. principally and the United Automobile Workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did your work with the Ford Motor Co. begin; about what year?

Mr. TAPPES. In 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been employed by the Ford Motor Co. or by unions having jurisdiction within the Ford Motor plant practically all the time since 1937?

Mr. TAPPES. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to ask you what official positions you have held with local 600 but before doing that I believe it would be of some assistance to the committee if you would outline the structural organization of local 600 and the UAW so the committee can understand better the importance of the various positions you have held.

Mr. TAPPES. Would you rather have the positions first?

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe if you would give the organizational break-down first, it would be of more assistance.

Mr. TAPPES. The United Automobile Workers is an international organization of auto workers, aircraft-implement workers and farm-implement workers principally. The jurisdiction is established by the CIO which is the mother organization of many international unions.

The United Automobile Workers International Union is composed of more than 1,000 local unions and each of these local unions embrace some plant or industry which is under contract with the international union. The local unions, of course, are established in various States, cities, and some provinces in Canada.

Now the international union meets in convention periodically just about every 2 years according to its present policy and those local unions, according to their size, elect delegates who attend the international convention and establish the policy and elect the international officers. Each local union elects its own complement of officers who govern these local unions in line with the policy as established by the international constitution.

The international constitution, of course, is the governing law of the union according to the dictates of the conventions.

The positions I have held in the union have been several. In 1940 I was president of the foundry unit of local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now stop there a moment. How many units were there in local 600? You spoke of your having been president of the foundry unit.

Mr. TAPPES. There are presently 16 units in local 600. At that time there were 13.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the size of the foundry unit?

Mr. TAPPES. The first time I was elected president of that unit, there were 17,000 members. It was the largest unit in the Rouge plant. I want you to understand that local 600 is the local union that has jurisdiction over the River Rouge Ford plant. In 1941 when the union became established at Ford's, I was selected for the national negotiating committee which negotiated the first Ford contract. In 1942 I was elected recording secretary of local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now that was the organization that controlled or had jurisdiction over all of the units within the Ford plant—all the 16 units?

Mr. TAPPES. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the membership of local 600 at that time?

Mr. TAPPES. In 1941 there were some 72,000 people working in the Rouge plant and during the several terms I served as recording secretary we did reach a peak of 89,000 UAW members.

I served as recording secretary from 1942 until 1945. Subsequently I was appointed while I was elected in 1945 to the bargaining committee of the production foundry unit which is now known as the Dearborn foundry. That is a 3-man committee that handles grievances in the top stage as far as the foundry unit is concerned.

Then I was subsequently appointed director of the housing and compensation departments of local 600 and served a year in that capacity. The following year, I was again elected president of the production foundry unit and during the same year elected again to the national negotiating committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that the year 1947?

Mr. TAPPES. That would be 1947. I retired from union activities at that time and went back in the shop. I didn't run to succeed myself as president of the foundry and when the contract had been negotiated with the company I had no further activity on the national negotiating committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will want to ask you further about your reasons for not running to succeed yourself but I do not want to go into it at this point. Now have you held any other positions with the UAW as an international organization?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes; I have. I am presently acting as an international representative and I am attached to the staff of the national Ford department of the union.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you held that position, the position of international representative?

Mr. TAPPES. Since December of 1950.

Mr. TAVENNER. Briefly what are the duties of an international representative?

Mr. TAPPES. Well, there are varied duties that are assigned to them. It depends upon which department they are assigned to. Some act as organizers in departments and others act as service people. Then we have some who are research people in our research departments and educators in our education department, and so on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you had any other assignments within the past few years in your union?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes; just previous to becoming an international representative, I was appointed to the review board of local 600, that is, the grievance review board, and a little later than that I was appointed as educational director of local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that you became a member of the first negotiating committee for the contract with the Ford Motor plant in 1941?

Mr. TAPPES. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had you been employed in the Ford plant prior to your appointment to that position?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes; I had.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did that employment begin? I believe you said it was in 1937?

Mr. TAPPES. That is right, March 3.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, were you discharged from employment in the Ford plant before 1941?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes; I was. I was discharged for engaging in the union activities.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did that occur?

Mr. TAPPES. That occurred in 1938.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did that discharge constitute the first incident in a chain of events that finally led to your being invited into the Communist Party?

Mr. TAPPES. I will say indirectly they did. When I was discharged I suppose I became more energetic as a union member because I knew that if the union didn't succeed in Ford's, I'd never have a job there again, and in most plants in and around the city of Detroit a person who had been discharged for union activity was pretty well known and his chances of obtaining employment in those other plants were, to say the least, quite lessened as the result of his being known as an active unionist.

I had applied for work in other plants and had been turned down.

Mr. WALTER. May I interrupt at this point? The inference very plainly is that the employers were acting in concert so that everybody knew when a man—that is the employment officer of every company—was discharged for union activities. Is that the fact?

Mr. TAPPES. There is no doubt about that. I think the La Follette committee in hearings several years ago brought that out pretty clearly and the National Labor Relations Board in many hearings brought the same facts to light, that the employers did act in concert and they maintained what are commonly known as blacklists; and former employees who had been outspoken or actively engaged in union activities were denied employment in any of those plants that worked in concert one with another.

Mr. WALTER. Only for union activities despite the fact that the employee might be very well qualified and a desirable worker?

Mr. TAPPES. Well, I can speak for other reasons they might have. I was interested in that phase of their concerted action which dealt with unionists.

Mr. WALTER. Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a result of that experience, what line of work did you engage in?

Mr. TAPPES. Well, as I say, I energetically engaged myself in union activities with the UAW. The UAW wasn't known to have too much funds available, but they did provide part-time pay for people who were organizing.

Mr. POTTER. Wasn't that about the time you became the Mystery Voice or Mystery Man and appeared—or your voice was on radio for a period of time? Was it during that time that this happened?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes; that is true, especially in the fall and winter of 1940 and early 1941. There was a sustaining program of the UAW which was on one of the Detroit radio stations 5 nights a week and I was a voice, an unnamed Ford worker, who made many broadcasts in behalf of the union. It wasn't until the time that the union thought it was to some advantage that my name was ever disclosed. You might say they saw that the voice was identified in a very dramatic way during the height of the Ford drive.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is one of the incidents that I had reference to a moment ago, in which I wanted to develop the chain of circumstances that led up to an invitation to you to join the Communist Party. How long did you engage over the air in broadcasting under the name of the Mystery Voice?

Mr. TAPPES. Periodically over a 3- or 4-month period.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there considerable interest aroused through the union as to who was the person whose voice was being heard?

Mr. TAPPES. I believe there was. We tried to point it up as much as possible and propagandize the programs, and things that were said in behalf of the union and encourage the Ford workers to become union members.

Mr. TAVENNER. At what occasion was the announcement of the person whose voice had been heard as the mystery voice?

Mr. TAPPES. Well, at a certain time during the Ford drive.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by the "Ford drive"?

Mr. TAPPES. Well the UAW drive to organize Ford. The Supreme Court had rendered a decision which upheld the decision by the National Labor Relations Board which called for the restoration to their jobs of 37 key union people. I believe that took place in January of 1941 and in dramatizing the whole incident, the union had as many of the 37 people as possible go to the gates of the Ford plant to be returned to their jobs.

Pictures were taken and pictures of the checks in back pay that they had coming. At the same time it was decided that the Mystery Voice would be identified and a program was written up in which I was to not only say some of the things that I had been saying before in behalf of unionism, but to also state my name and I did that. Subsequently pictures were printed and many of the union papers carried stories and pictures and so on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you visited by any member of the Communist Party shortly after that?

Mr. TAPPES. Well, I was visited about 10 days thereafter. It was still in 1941 and I believe it was in February, at my home. It was on a Saturday morning and by a person who identified himself to me as Maben. I don't recall the first name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Maben?

Mr. TAPPES. That is all I recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell it.

Mr. TAPPES. M-a-b-e-n, and he told me very frankly that he was a member of the Communist Party, and told me that the Communist Party was to fight for the rights of Negroes and he thought that there was a great future for me in the union and that future could parallel a future in the workers' movement as he put it, namely, the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. So an inducement was made by this representative of the Communist Party to bring you into the party by suggesting to you that your position would be improved both within labor and within the Communist Party, is that about the substance of what you say?

Mr. TAPPES. That is the substance of the statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, this was within 10 days from the time that you had received a great deal of notoriety throughout the labor world

for a very useful service you had performed anonymously over a period of time for the union?

Mr. TAPPES. That is true.

Mr. TAVERNER. Can you give us any further information regarding the individual who came to see you, this man by the name of Maben; was he an employee in the Ford plant or in the union?

Mr. TAPPES. To my knowledge he wasn't or never was a Ford worker. I had learned much later and I might say several years later that he is a barber. I don't know whether he operates a barbershop or what but I do know that his trade was that of barbering.

Mr. TAVERNER. Well, did you as a result of this effort to recruit you, join the Communist Party?

Mr. TAPPES. No, I didn't.

Mr. TAVERNER. Did you at any later time join the Communist Party?

Mr. TAPPES. No, I didn't.

Mr. TAVERNER. You have described to us the various positions within your union to which you were elevated as time progressed. I believe one of the first and most important assignments was that which you had received as one of the negotiating committee for the first contract with Ford.

Mr. TAPPES. That is right.

Mr. TAVERNER. Did that occur shortly after your name had been made public as the Mystery Voice?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes, it was. The appointment was made at that time by International President R. J. Thomas. I think that I should point out that ordinarily the Ford workers have a procedure by which they elect their representatives in national negotiations, but in new unions where it is hardly practical because the unions aren't autonomously established, then it is the responsibility of the international president to either make the appointments or sanction appointments if he delegates that responsibility to somebody else.

Mr. TAVERNER. Well, as time went along and your positions within your union became more and more important and your position of leadership within your union, was an effort again made to recruit you into the party?

Mr. TAPPES. The only other effort that I recall took place about a year later, the early part of 1942.

Mr. TAVERNER. Well, let me ask you this first: Did you ever attend closed Communist Party meetings or Communist Party meetings which you recognized to be such?

Mr. TAPPES. I did attend meetings to which I had been invited by members of the Communist Party and meetings that to my own personal knowledge were composed of Communists other than myself.

Mr. TAVERNER. Well, it may be helpful to explain to the committee what happened at some of those meetings. Will you tell us as near as you can, the first meeting which you attended and where it occurred?

Mr. TAPPES. The first meeting I can recall at present was in the early part of 1942 at the home of James Jones who was then chairman of the pressed steel unit of the local 600. It was a small meeting and there were only about five people present including myself.

Mr. TAVERNER. Who invited you to the meeting?

Mr. TAPPES. I was invited by William McKie of the local union; that is, 600.

Mr. TAVERNER. Who were the other persons who attended that meeting?

Mr. TAPPES. James Jones, his wife, McKie, Lee Romano, Roy Wilson, and myself.

Mr. TAVERNER. Do you recall the purpose of that meeting? What was the principal subject of discussion?

Mr. TAPPES. Well, I was told that this was a meeting of Pressed Steel people, the Pressed Steel leadership, and when I was asked to come along, it was because matters that I might be interested in would be under discussion. I might say that at that time I was a member of the so-called left-wing group of local 600 and we of local 600 had just recently been granted local union autonomy by the international executive board and we knew that we were going to elect our local union officers. Jones, a part of the left-wing group, had been chosen as the director of the campaign representing our particular point of view in the election and because it was being held at Jones' house I felt there would be things under discussion that I would be interested in.

I would say that principally the matters under discussion were Pressed Steel matters because there was some difficulty with Jones who had suddenly decided he'd like to be a candidate for vice president of the local union which would have upset the plans in the Pressed Steel unit and also upset the plans insofar as the local union was concerned, in the group that I was a part of. In other words, we had already chosen the slate, you see, and then with one person, somebody else deciding he wanted to be on the slate, too, for an office someone else had been selected for, you can see the difficulty.

Mr. TAVERNER. So you were brought there to this meeting to discuss that matter?

Mr. TAPPES. That is right.

Mr. TAVERNER. You spoke of the Pressed Steel unit. Were you referring to the Pressed Steel unit of your union or the Pressed Steel unit of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAPPES. No, this is the Pressed Steel unit of local 600, as far as I knew.

Mr. TAVERNER. Was any mention made to you at that meeting regarding your joining the Communist Party?

Mr. TAPPES. Well, not in the meeting, but after the meeting had broken up and before we had left the house, I was approached by Mr. McKie and in words like this he said, "You had better be thinking of coming among us, Shelton," and I asked him what did he mean and he says, "The Communist Party could use people of your caliber or your ability"; or rather he said, "People of your ability," and indicating that he was asking me to join the party.

Mr. TAVERNER. What did you say to him?

Mr. TAPPES. I told him that I wasn't interested in joining the party and nothing more was said about it.

Mr. TAVERNER. Did you know Mr. Lee Romano to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAPPES. At that time I couldn't say that I did.

Mr. TAVERNER. Mr. Roy Wilson.

Mr. TAPPES. Well, Roy Wilson had told me that he at one time was a member of the Young Communist League but he didn't tell me that he was a member of the party.

Mr. TAVERNER. Well, now, did you attend another meeting of the Communist Party at a later time?

Mr. TAPPES. In 1943, I at that time was recording secretary of local 600. I received an invitation to address the Midtown Communist Club of the Communist Political Association.

Mr. TAVERNER. You are certain it was the Communist Political Association which you addressed?

Mr. TAPPES. Well, I was informed that was the group that I was to address when I received the invitation.

Mr. TAVERNER. Well, the Communist Political Association was established in 1944?

Mr. TAPPES. Well, I may be mixed up but I know that this was the Communist Political Association. It may have been in 1944 but all I can say is I received an invitation to address—

Mr. TAVERNER. Regardless of the year you are certain it was the Communist Political Association?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes, I am sure of that.

Mr. TAVERNER. What club of the association?

Mr. TAPPES. The Midtown Club.

Mr. TAVERNER. Well, will you tell the committee all about that meeting? You say you were invited to address the Communist Party meeting?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes; I had been given the subject of anti-Semitism or the dangers of anti-Semitism in the industries of Detroit and I went to the club. I might say I didn't hesitate to accept the invitation because I always felt that the question of anti-Semitism would be as dangerous as anti-Negro attitudes in this country.

I don't recall the chairman of the meeting but I do remember the introduction he made in my behalf as I was about to speak. He said among other things that Shelton Tappes, recording secretary of local 600, was an outstanding labor leader and other embellishments of that sort and then he said, "Who by the way is not a Communist." Then the introduction was interrupted before he completed it.

Mr. TAVERNER. In what way was it interrupted?

Mr. TAPPES. Well, it was interrupted by one of the members who seemed to have had a few drinks and he made the remark that, "I'd like to know why the hell he isn't a Communist. Does he think he is any better than the rest of us here?"

Mr. TAVERNER. Who was the person that made that statement?

Mr. TAPPES. A fellow who I later learned was William R. Hood of local 600.

Mr. TAVERNER. Did any thing else occur during the progress of that meeting which would cause you to remember the name of any other individual who was present?

Mr. TAPPES. Well, after I had made my address, there was a question period and as to the first person who asked me a question, he asked me the type of question that was not consistent with the message that I tried to get over and as a result of that, this person did become imprinted in my mind as having been present at that meeting.

Mr. TAVERNER. Who was that person?

Mr. TAPPES. That person was Leroy Krawford who is presently working at Ford's who I later learned severed all connections with either the Communist Political Association or the party several years ago.

Mr. POTTER. Who invited you, Mr. Tappes, to participate in this program in the first instance?

Mr. TAPPES. I am not sure now how I got the invitation because in those days it wasn't unusual for me to receive invitations through the mail or by telephone and some in person, so I wouldn't be positive.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend any other meetings of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes; during that same year and I do recall now that it was in 1944 I received a personal invitation to address the Northwest Communist Club on the subject of Negro women in industry.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you invited to take part in the program before that Communist Party club?

Mr. TAPPES. I received a personal invitation from a then member of local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that Byron Edwards?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes, that was Byron Edwards.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did anything occur during the progress of that meeting which would be of any interest or importance to the committee in your judgment?

Mr. TAPPES. Well, I don't know. I got to the meetings, I suppose, about midway—there seemed to have been other business that transpired before I got there and my impression is that I was to participate in sort of a program, a session of what seemed to have been earlier a business meeting because when I arrived there was a person talking who was talking about the press fund of the Daily Worker. There was an effort made to reenergize the people in a fund that seemed to have been lagging somewhat in the amount of money that was coming in—discussing the quota and how the quota had been met up until that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have occasion to attend another meeting of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes, I had one occasion that I can recall quite clearly.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that meeting held in 1945?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes, it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it held at the Ford section of the Communist Party at 5642 Michigan Avenue?

Mr. TAPPES. I am not sure of the address but I do know it was on Michigan Avenue and I was informed that this was the leadership—the Communist leadership of the Rouge plant. I was asked to be present and the time given me was 11 p. m.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who invited you?

Mr. TAPPES. Walter Dorosh brought the message to me that my presence was desired by this leadership of the Rouge plant, so-called, and Billy Allen.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did you attend the meeting?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes, I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Billy Allan present?

Mr. TAPPES. He was. He was the chairman on that occasion.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Dorosh present?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes, he was present.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Bill McKie present?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes, he was present.

Mr. TAVENNER. John Duncan?

Mr. TAPPES. I don't recall that he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Nelson Davis present?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Max Chait present?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes, Chait was there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Leo Orsage?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mike Hraber?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes, he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Sam Rizzo?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes, Rizzo was there.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was explained to you to be the purpose of calling you before that meeting and was the explanation made to you after you arrived there?

Mr. TAPPES. I arrived at 11 p. m. It was an hour—at least an hour—before I was permitted to enter the room where these people were assembled. When I entered the room I was quite amazed at the collection of people there because there were about 40 people—at least 40.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt you at that point, and let me ask you about the names of other persons who may have been there. Was Art McPhaul there?

Mr. TAPPES. Art McPhaul was there; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Ed Lock?

Mr. TAPPES. I don't recall that Ed Lock was there; he may have been.

Mr. TAVENNER. Paul Boatin?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Kenneth Roach?

Mr. TAPPES. I couldn't be certain about Roach although I know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tersil Obriot?

Mr. TAPPES. Obriot was there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Veal Clough?

Mr. TAPPES. No, he wasn't there.

Mr. TAVENNER. James Simmons?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Leonard Lauderdale?

Mr. TAPPES. I don't recall his presence.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you say you were surprised and impressed by the fact that 30 or 40 people were there at this meeting. Will you tell the committee what occurred when you went into the room?

Mr. TAPPES. When I entered the room Allan was seated in a corner in what would be the northeast corner of the room. There was a large round table in front of Allan, and a chair sitting at this table. There were no other vacant chairs in the room and everyone there was sitting facing Allan in semicircle rows.

I might say there were a number of people there who haven't been named and whom I have forgotten as having been present, and Allan told me this—and I might point out that the chair that was available to me was facing the audience, a kind of inquisition—and he said, "You have before you the Communist leadership of local 600. If you are wondering why we called you down here, these people are concerned

about your refusal to join the Communist Party in spite of the fact that we Communists have supported you over the years for various offices in local 600 and despite the fact that certain or various people have been assigned to you for the purpose of securing your recruitment into the party."

Now those were the words or the essence of the words used by Billy Allan.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he name the persons who had been assigned to recruit you into the party?

Mr. TAPPES. He named three persons. I particularly recall that Byron Edwards was one of the people named and Nelson Davis was the other. The third one is rather indistinct to me at the present.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, after he made that statement to you what occurred?

Mr. TAPPES. Well, I was almost speechless at the time. It was an experience I wouldn't want to go through again because I feel that I have a right to my beliefs and I certainly have a right to join any organization I choose without being forced into it by anybody and I have always felt that I could take care of myself in debate or any other way with the average person in the United States and these are people whom I had worked with for many years, not only on the basis of their political beliefs but because they were union people. I certainly thought that any support that I did receive from them or anyone else in the Rouge plant had been on the basis of any service that I could contribute to the union for the benefit of the membership of the union.

So the only answer that I could give—and I am sure that I could have probably done a better job now—but I was just caught up short and it was totally unexpected to me especially from people who had been preaching democracy and the rights of individuals for so many years—so the only answer I could give them was that I was not prepared and had no desire to join the Communist Party.

That was the only reason I could give them for not having been a member or succumb to their efforts or their previous efforts to join.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, when you took that position what was the attitude of Mr. Allan? What did he say?

Mr. TAPPES. Mr. Allan reacted by first standing up. He said, "You heard the words of Shelton Tappes." And then he pointed out a number of people to speak their minds on what they had heard from me. The first speaker was Mike Hraber who used some vitriolic statements in condemning me and asserting that I had let him down and that he had had a lot of faith in me before but now he saw no way in which he could have any further use for me or words to that effect.

Another speaker was Leo Orsage who continued in the same vein, maybe not quite as vocally or didn't use nearly as many words but he also condemned my attitude. There were more—there were three or four other speakers that did do a pretty sound job of convincing themselves and the others present that as Communists I was no good to them or didn't mean them any good.

Mr. POTTER. In other words, Mr. Tappes, as a form of blackmail in order to get their support for future elections, they were trying to convince you to become a member of their group and I assume by the tirades that were made against you after you refused, they were

telling you in a polite, or maybe not so polite way, that you couldn't expect their support in the future union elections—is that the essence of it?

Mr. TAPPES. Well, at that point I would say it was more or less an effort to intimidate or coerce and demand that I become one of them, and insist that their past record of their past efforts in my behalf—well, they almost came right out and said without them I never would have been anywhere in the union.

Mr. WALTER. All of the people there knew full well that you were entitled to a great deal of credit for the establishment of this union, didn't they? Isn't that the fact?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes, they knew that and I might say——

Mr. WALTER. Their actions certainly indicate they weren't interested in the strengthening of the union but in the strengthening of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAPPES. Well, if they had been interested in the strengthening of the union, I would have known a whole lot more of them in 1937, 1938, and 1939. I met most of those people after the union was established at Ford's and not before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now after these three or four persons had been called upon by Mr. Allan to express their opinions and to take part in this inquisition as you called it, what occurred?

Mr. TAPPES. Well, Allan himself decided to sum up the proceedings of the evening.

Mr. TAVENNER. By the way, let me stop there. Was Mr. Allan a member of the union?

Mr. TAPPES. He wasn't a member of local 600 and I don't know whether he has been a member of any local union of the Union Automobile Workers. I have never been so informed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, now, tell us what Mr. Allan had to say.

Mr. TAPPES. Well, he summed the proceedings up by saying that, or telling me, that I had heard from the Ford workers and that from their statements it was quite apparent that they weren't satisfied with the answers that I had given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Therefore a verdict had been reached?

Mr. TAPPES. Therefore he was to tell me that from now on the people who they would select would be from their own ranks—people who would receive their support for the office in the local union. He also said that there were others that they were going to call in and speak to in the same fashion that they had talked to me, the implication being of course that they weren't singling me out, that there would be others.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did you hold in the union at that time?

Mr. TAPPES. I held the position of bargaining committee in the production foundry unit. I'd like to say this, that when I lost the election in 1945 to succeed myself as recording secretary, I received visits and letters and phone calls from a great number of supporters in various sections of the Rouge plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, was that before or after the meeting?

Mr. TAPPES. That was before the meeting, naturally before my successor had been installed in office. I was the incumbent but hadn't lost my books so to speak, and these people for the most part seemed

to have been interested in what I was going to do now that I was no longer one of the chief officers of local 600.

Most of them expressed confidence in my leadership and asked that I not leave the local union. I had received an offer from one of the international officers to join his staff as an international representative and they had heard about this offer and wanted me to remain with them in the Rouge plant saying that we would rebuild our forces and make a come-back in the local union and as an indication of this, their sincerity when I left the local union, I took a month's vacation and while I was gone my supporters in the foundry unit despite my objections had entered my name in nomination for the bargaining committee and had elected me to that position while I was on vacation.

I wasn't even in the State of Michigan at that time which certainly convinced me that I had a lot of friends still in local 600.

So I assumed that position and was working in that position and had expected that among the so-called left-wing group or the more or less political group, that I was associated with—and I might say that a minority of the left-wing in the UAW are the Communists—I had expected to make a come-back in the local union and everybody knew that was my plan.

However, it is quite apparent now that the Communists in local 600 had other ideas and with this was the tip-off of their activities to come. In other words, to make some attempt to capture one of the principal offices of local 600 which they up until that time did not have.

Mr. TAVENNER. What office was that?

Mr. TAPPES. Well, I don't know which—I wouldn't try to designate any of the offices; however, the effort was quite clear and the first thing they would have to do would be to displace one of the possible candidates and replace him with one of their own whatever office that might be because they had no way of knowing what office I would seek.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you have told us that William Allan advised you that they would from that time on endeavor to elect their own members or as much as told you that any support you had gotten from that group would be denied you in the future?

Mr. TAPPES. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, now, what occurred later to indicate that that was not just a barren threat?

Mr. TAPPES. Well, I can only say that at first that threat would have not too much importance if it wasn't for the manner in which officers are selected in the union; I mean we have two principal groups which in many ways compare with the two principal political parties in the United States.

So whoever is selected within the party machinery or the machinery of these groups, have the chances of being elected without doubt, or our history shows no one has ever run as an independent in local 600 and had any success. So the way in which they were going to carry out their threat would be within the group that I was associated with and their acts in subsequent days bore out their threat and they did succeed.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was in the left-wing group within your union?

Mr. TAPPES. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. It may be well at this point to demonstrate to the committee, if you can, how the action of the left-wing group can be

controlled by comparatively few individuals such as members of the Communist Party. Will you tell us a little as to how the functioning of the caucuses might affect that problem? Well let us put it this way: You spoke of these different groups which represented, say, parties within your political parties or branches within your union. Are you talking now about the rank-and-file members or are you talking about any representative group of the members?

MR. TAPPES. I am talking about a division of the entire union including the rank and file. They are more or less commonly known as the left wing and right wing and includes everybody in the union. When elections come, people choose sides because they have to vote for a candidate; if they want to, they vote for a candidate.

MR. POTTER. Are candidates selected by caucus?

MR. TAPPES. No; candidates are nominated.

MR. POTTER. At conventions?

MR. TAPPES. Not conventions. Let me explain it this way: Maybe if we narrow it down to local 600 it will be easier to understand. Local 600 has 16 buildings as we said before and these buildings are required to have a membership meeting once a month, so when nomination time comes the buildings receive official notice from the local union recording secretary and at their building or unit meeting the recording secretary and the president together notify the membership of the necessity for submitting nominations for local union offices.

So in each of the 16 units will be a period set aside for the nomination of members who desire to be nominated or members who desire to nominate somebody for any of the local union offices they choose to make that nomination for. And these nominations are transmitted to the local union and once the deadline for accepting or rejecting that office has passed, the remaining names are then eligible for ballot if they are fully paid up members of the union.

So the left- and right-wing caucuses as they are better known, select from among their own group a slate of officers to represent them in the election. You might have seven people running for president, but chances are the question of selection will remain between the two people who are chosen by one or the other of the two major political groups.

MR. WOOD. At that point I am interested in knowing, since it seems that the caucuses have a good deal of authority in thus selecting the candidates, how the caucus members are selected.

MR. TAPPES. Well the members are not selected by the caucus or I should say the—

MR. WOOD. I understood you to say the caucus of the two factions make up a slate of those that have been nominated.

MR. TAPPES. Yes. You want to know how the factions are made up?

MR. WOOD. That is right. Who actually makes up that slate? Do they have a meeting of some sort?

MR. TAPPES. They do. The caucuses are more or less open to any member. If there is going to be a meeting of the rightwing group, why they notify the membership through cards or handbills or any way that they feel are the most effective—or there might be a more selective way of doing it by having people who are associated with that group pass cards around privately to those that he thinks might be sympathetic and the same procedure is followed by the other groups.

I have seen caucuses that have as many as a thousand or more people there and I have seen those that only have three or four people present. But in the initial stages the groups are much smaller.

Most of these caucuses have officers, they have a chairman and et cetera and they have a treasury for the campaign funds. They must raise money to buy literature and of course, in our local we use sound trucks and almost everything else. It is quite a big affair.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the role of the Communist Party in the caucus meeting?

Mr. TAPPES. Well they have attached themselves to the left-wing caucus by—I mean, historically they attached themselves to the left-wing caucus. The way in which they carried out their threat on me, was first by coming in to the left-wing caucus with their group which was a pretty well disciplined group who are able to—they were so well disciplined—convince or help in choosing a steering committee. The steering committee is usually the group who takes charge of the publicity and all of the phases of a political campaign in the union. At this time, from the steering committee was chosen a nominating committee and this nominating committee was to bring in to the steering committee recommendations for a slate of officers, and that was done. It was done on three occasions.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean three separate different slates?

Mr. TAPPES. Well, they brought in a slate of officers for the first time and included on that slate was my name for vice president representing the group and those who are present and many of whom have been named since these hearings have been going on as members of the Communist Party were very vocal in insisting in finding other reasons for the committee to be sent back and bring out another report.

Mr. WALTER. Did people participate in this caucus who were not members of local 600?

Mr. TAPPES. No.

Mr. WALTER. So that the only participants in the left-wing caucus were union members?

Mr. TAPPES. That is right. The committee was sent back and they returned with substantially the same slate of officers and by some subterfuge they were sent back again because it was found to be undesirable.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, now, did that all occur on the same day or was it postponed to another day?

Mr. TAPPES. No, we were meeting periodically I believe at that time every 2 weeks.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well isn't that very much the same as the old plan of just waiting until the opposition had dispersed and then demanding action?

Mr. TAPPES. That is right, only in the meantime, behind the scenes they were trying to influence various members of the steering committee to change their ideas about the composition of the slate.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was all after you had been given the warning by Mr. Allen?

Mr. TAPPES. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. About what would occur to you if you didn't join the party?

Mr. TAPPES. That is right. The third slate that was brought in had moved my name from vice president down to the original position I had held—recording secretary. And all that had happened was a shuffling of the names on the slate to different positions and again there were enough people there representing the Communist point of view to insist that the slate was not satisfactory, only on this occasion the subterfuge was that well there are not enough people here to make a decision and we had better have a broader meeting so that more people can make a decision which certainly the average person has no reason to object to.

By then I had received from sources the real reason for this proposed slate being sent back so often and why there was so much objection to it. There was no question that the names on the slate were people who had the confidence of the group that I have mentioned—the left-wing group.

They certainly had done as much service for the group and were logical candidates, as much so as anybody else in local 600, so a meeting was called.

Mr. TAVENNER. After the slate had been sent back three times?

Mr. TAPPES. That is correct. I might say that ordinarily a slate is selected in that fashion and many weeks before we got started, why, ordinarily we would have had a campaign in full swing.

So when I received the information I did about the attitudes of different people, I decided that if we were going to be able to present a slate of officers in the campaign and be able to put up any kind of a battle in the elections that year, that maybe the best thing for me to do was to remain out of the meetings, and I did. The broad meeting that was called was attended by more than 360 in Northern High School and the same slate of officers was selected or was presented to this body with the exception of my name.

When they got to the office of recording secretary, a contest was held between me and one other person. I might say that somebody stood in for me and a decision was made by standing vote and the person that was selected received 181 votes and I was told I received 180. So I lost the decision by one vote, even though I wasn't present.

Mr. WALTER. Who counted the votes?

Mr. TAPPES. At that meeting the Communist Party representing the local 600 section had made a very determined and concerted effort to see to it that my name was not selected. The party was even represented by people who hadn't worked at Ford's for quite a number of years and some party members who had become inactive over a period of time and their efforts in behalf of the decision to select someone other than me, to say the least, were very strenuous.

Mr. TAVENNER. So Mr. Allan's prediction and threat was carried out in toto?

Mr. TAPPES. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, who was selected as recording secretary on that occasion? Who received 181 votes? Do you recall?

Mr. TAPPES. William Johnson. William H. Johnson.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is William H. Johnson the same person who is now the executive adviser to the president of local 600?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes; he is the administrative assistant to the president.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether William Johnson is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAPPES. Well, I have never known anyone who placed Bill Johnson in the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of a person by the name of Orsage, who was designated by Mr. Allan to express his views regarding your refusal to become a member of the party at this meeting which you were called to. Do you know whether he in turn was disciplined as a member of the party in later years?

Mr. TAPPES. I believe he was either reprimanded or suspended from the party for running for office in the Dearborn assembly plant better known as the B building. I think he ran for president of that unit at a time when they desired someone else to get the full support of the party forces.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a result of that he was expelled from the Communist Party?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes; that was the information that was generally spread around local 600.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not the fact of his expulsion was published in the Daily Worker of September 1950?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes; I know it was published in the Daily Worker. I wouldn't be able to say the date. I am a subscriber to the Daily Worker so I do read—

Mr. WALTER. We get it too.

Mr. Wood. The committee will stand in recess for 10 minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. Wood. We will come to order. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. I was in error a few minutes ago as to the expulsion of Leo Orsage as having been announced in the Daily Worker. It was in the Michigan Worker instead. I have it before me and desire to offer it in evidence and ask that it be marked "Tappes Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. Wood. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Tappes Exhibit No. 1" and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that Mr. William Allan advised you in the course of the inquisition that at least two persons had been assigned to recruit you into the party and one was Byron Edwards and the other Nelson Davis. Were you conscious of any efforts being made by either of those two persons to recruit you into the party?

Mr. TAPPES. I was more conscious of the efforts of Nelson Davis during the time that he was making the attempts. Nelson Davis served as vice president of the foundry workers of local 600 under me while I was president, so he had many opportunities to make an effort to recruit me into the party and took advantage of those opportunities on several occasions.

He asked me in 1942 and on several occasions, and on many occasions later on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Max Chait was shown by testimony here to have taken an active part in the conference of the Communist Party in 1950 and to have announced during that meeting that the Communist Party—and it may have been a boast, or may have been a factual statement that he was intending to make—has succeeded in getting or obtaining control of the council of local 600. I want to ask you some questions about that but before doing so tell the committee just what the council of local 600 consists of.

Mr. TAPPES. The council of local 600—the official title is the general council—is composed of delegates elected from these various buildings. It represents a membership meeting of the local union. Constitutionally, local unions are required to hold at least one general membership meeting each month. The unwillingness of local 600, with peak membership running into 80,000 or more in former years and now more than 60,000 in normal times, presents a picture of almost impossibility of providing a spot where those people could meet in one body.

As a result of that, the units are allowed—according to their size—to elect delegates. I don't know the exact figure now, whether it is 1 for every 300 members or 1 for every 500. It could be 1 for each thousand. And these delegates are assembled once each month to conduct the business of the local union. It is the highest governing body of the local union.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the average number of delegates?

Mr. TAPPES. It averages around 200 at the present time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, that is the council to which Mr. Chait referred. Have you been a representative on the general council at any time?

Mr. TAPPES. Since its inception; I am presently a delegate to the council.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the year 1950, the year about which Mr. Chait was speaking, was the Communist Party, in your judgment, in a position to control the vote or the action of the general council of local 600, on important matters involving the union?

Mr. TAPPES. The year 1950 was the first year of the administration of Carl Stellato, who is now president of the local union. The Communist Party, as such, was very critical of his program and policies and didn't hesitate on almost any measure that he proposed to try to defeat it. I think Mr. Chait was certainly boasting if he tried to imply that a majority of our council delegates were Communists, because that certainly would be an extreme fabrication for him to say that. However, the Communist Party has the particular habit of claiming the influence and claiming credit for any progress or achievements that are made by the left-wing group of the union, which in this case was true. The left-wing group were the opposition group to Mr. Stellato.

Whatever that group did the Communists claimed credit for it, and I might say that a goodly portion of that credit was not due them, or at least the Communists, as such, were not entitled to the full credit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, now, was the caucus plan carried out in the work of the general council as to measures which were to be supported or rejected and in substantially the same manner as in the elections which you have previously described?

Mr. TAPPES. Well, I'd say, generally speaking, yes. Except this, that on pure union matters there was never any difficulty in getting the average union man to agree and support a pure and honest and beneficial union matter. The only time that the district caucus lines were drawn would be when a measure dealing with foreign policy became an issue, and it was at that time that the discipline and the unusual ability of the Communists came to the forefront, that is to bring their training to the forefront and take advantage of the union members.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were caucuses held from time to time on matters of that character?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes, on both sides there were caucuses held.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well now, if you had a total membership on the general council of 200 as I believe you have mentioned as the average, and there was a left-wing caucus within the council, about what percentage of that entire vote would be represented by the caucus as an average would you say?

Mr. TAPPES. Well of course, I think you understand that each year council delegates had to be elected and the composition of the council itself would result in the success of one group or the other in the various units, so when the delegates were presented to the council for installation, they would have there a body of people representing 16 different units of the Rouge plant who were there by the success of a particular group.

They associated themselves with their individual units so that each year the experience would be different, but over the years since the inception of the general council in 1941, I would say that the left-wing point of view did prevail to the extent of about 55 or 60 percent of the council members.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then an average of 60 percent of the total would be 120, so actually 120 persons in that caucus could control the decision of the general council?

Mr. TAPPES. That is assuming all council members are present.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, if all were present?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. If there were 61 Communists represented in the caucus or 61 people who could be controlled by the Communists, they could control the entire action of the general council, isn't that true?

Mr. TAPPES. That is quite possible. I would like to digress a bit here. The way in which the Communist Party was able to operate with any success was really the fault of those union members who don't vote in local union elections. I'd like to make that pretty clear. By their absence on election day, they sanction the success of a group—a small but well-disciplined group—that control the destinies of the union.

Mr. TAVENNER. That exists in every phase of human endeavor in this country and it is a question of lethargy on the part of the people. If they once came out and asserted their opinions and their votes, the Communist Party could not possibly accomplish its objectives.

Mr. TAPPES. I might say that is also true of the so-called left wing and the union; the failure of the left-wingers to attend their left-wing meetings in many cases resulted in the Communists either having a majority of people present and the fact that so many people know so little about what goes on in the union, they permit these people who are well trained and well versed on international policies and national policies to sway those who are present and don't pay too much attention to those things. They are able to sway them into believing some of the things that they say and as a result there is a prevalent point of view that is not truly the thinking of the majority of the people.

Mr. JACKSON. If I may interrupt for a moment, I think, Mr. Tappes, that perhaps your statement on the organizational tactics of the Communists is one of the most important points that has been made during this entire hearing.

The average member of an organization is apt to come to the meeting late and he is apt not to say very much while he is there and go

home to the family as quickly as possible. I think that is borne out amply in the testimony taken by this committee here and in other cities. The Communists come early, they are vocal while there, and stay until the last dog is hung. Out of the total membership of over 600 of the Screen Writers' Guild in Hollywood, only a few have been identified as Communists and fellow travelers.

However that minority in the Screen Writers' Guild succeeded in absolute domination of the Screen Writers' Guild over a period of some years and succeeded in electing a great many members of the board of directors of the Screen Writers' Guild and also the executive secretary in at least two instances.

I think that the point you make on the responsibility of those who are opposed to the Communists and to communism as to voting and making their presence felt in these meetings is one of the most important points that could possibly be made in this hearing or in any other hearing. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there anything that you can tell the committee regarding the devices used by the Communist Party to control its action, that is, to control the action of the union or the left-wing?

Mr. TAPPES. I could.

Mr. TAVENNER. Without taking too much time and going into too much detail.

Mr. TAPPES. I can give an example of how it is possible to control a group with a small minority with everybody giving consideration to the fact that a union meeting is usually composed of people right off a machine in a shop. If we have a meeting of 50 people and 5 people there are Communists, we found that the average rank and filer doesn't have too much to say in that meeting no matter what comes up on the floor or is presented to them for consideration.

They are willing to sit back and depend upon their officers to make a lot of decisions for them.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is the very reason why it is so important that a Communist who is an official—holds an official position—should become exposed as to his Communist Party membership, so that the rank and file will know it, isn't that true?

Mr. TAPPES. That is right, and I think you will find that is one of the reasons the UAW has a provision in its contract that no Communist can hold office. The five Communists will have discussed the important matters before they get to the meeting and they are trained in parliamentary law and they are trained in labor history and they have current events classes on almost any matter that is important to the Nation and the union.

Therefore they have the ability to take the floor and handle themselves and they have the knowledge of these issues and each of those five can have something to say on that matter while most of the other people are sitting there and listening. So they are easily swayed and as a result of the lethargy as you so well put it before of the average member, he is influenced and controlled in too many cases by a small minority and an un-American group of people.

I might say that despite many articles and so forth to the contrary, I think the strongest and most vocal organization in this country and the most active organization in this country against the efforts of the Communist Party is the United Automobile Workers.

I also feel that our president, Walter P. Reuther, has certainly shown himself to be an enemy of Communist ideology and fought very vigorously and hard to eliminate those who have held offices or had certain influences within our own union.

I think that if every other union in this country had done as much and worked as hard on the subject as the United Automobile Workers, that there certainly would be much less influence within the labor organizations at the present time.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the international organization of the CIO has been successful in expelling 12 international unions because of their adhering to the Communist Party line?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. So an effort is being made not only in labor but in many other forms of activity to clear their skirts of communism?

Mr. TAPPES. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now there has been a lot said during the course of this hearing about the efforts of the Communist Party to bring within the Communist Party the persons of the Negro race and to attempt to profit by some of the problems that they have faced. What observation do you have to make if any regarding the efforts of the Communist Party to accomplish that?

Mr. TAPPES. Now I'd like to say this—I am glad that you put that question in that way, and I hope the chairman, if he feels that I am going too far, will correct me. I am glad to answer a question like that because I have always felt pretty strongly that there is a great problem in this Nation that needs a solution.

I believe there are many patriotic groups in this Nation who are working on that problem that include Negro and white people. Many of those organizations are known to everyone in this room—the NAACP, UAW-CIO, and American Federation of Labor. All of these organizations have some faults, we agree; however, the efforts and the honesty that is displayed in their efforts certainly indicates that in this Nation there will come a time when most of these problems will be solved to the satisfaction of everyone.

Mr. WALTER. Let me call your attention to something on that point.

The efforts of those of us who have been trying to the best of our ability to improve conditions of all of the people are very seriously impeded by the activities of those who shed crocodile tears for the people that we are now talking about.

Mr. TAPPES. I agree and I also feel that the major problems such as lynching, the poll tax, and fair employment practices are matters that the American people should very vigorously attend to, but I don't agree that the Communist Party of the United States who has installed itself as the one agency designed to solve the problems of the Negro people—I do not believe and I know that they are not sincere in their efforts. They have only grabbed the Negro issue as a means through which they can attain the help and support of 15 million Negro people in this country in furthering their policies of the Soviet Union which they are attached to.

I know there have been occasions when the Communist Party could have proven their sincerity and other parts of their program have been predominant to the point that they were willing to forego the rights of the Negro people in order to solve their international interests,

particularly on their attitude on Negro questions during the last war.

I know of at least one instance and that is the instance of a doctor in the city of Detroit who had been drafted into the United States Navy and insisted that in answering the draft call, he should be drafted as a physician because he was then a practicing medical doctor in this city. I suppose he didn't know too much about the Communist Party as to its sincerity and he went to them for help and they turned him down saying that winning the war was primary and all of those things would have to wait until the war was over.

One other instance was mentioned yesterday. I remember this particularly because I had a personal experience when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People advanced as its program, the double V program. That was known as victory at home and victory abroad in which they gave, unstintingly, support to the war effort of the country but still contained themselves with the domestic programs feeling that both were consistent and the interest was the same—we must win both of those battles—and the Communist Party was outspokenly critical of the at-home portion of that double victory program. So I could conclude by saying that the Communist Party does not represent the chosen spokesmen for the Negro people and that the Negro people know that there are many patriotic persons and patriotic organizations with whom they can associate themselves in whom they know they have a real honest and sincere interest in seeing that complete democracy is a prevalent thing in this Nation.

Mr. TAVENNER. We have secured during the course of this investigation a blank form of which this is a copy, of the information that was requested by the Communist Party from each registrant in 1950. I'd like to hand it to you and ask you to examine it and state whether or not from that record of the Communist Party they actually carried out in practice the nondiscrimination which they would subtly preach to the public. Is there any distinction that is made in their own records between people of different races or color?

Mr. TAPPES. The top of this paper says "Communist Party membership registration for 1950."

Mr. TAVENNER. Then will you read the classification of information down the line from the top?

Mr. TAPPES (reading):

Man, woman, Negro, age, time in party, employed, unemployed, occupation, industry, specific name of union, CIO, AFL, independent, and vet—

which I assume means veterans or not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Therefore, according to their own records they do draw distinctions?

Mr. TAPPES. I am sure you are referring to that Negro designation where it says whether Negro or white.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer a copy in evidence and ask that it be marked "Tappes Exhibit No. 2."

Mr. Wood. It will be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Tappes Exhibit No. 2" and received in evidence.)

Mr. JACKSON. Before you leave the matter of legislation there probably is no more of a certain kiss of death for adequate and worthwhile legislation to meet many of the problems with which many

groups in this country are confronted, than the advocacy and endorsement of the Communist Party. The delegations of the Communist Party which are sent down to Washington on various occasions to put forward these programs actually succeed in alienating people who are in favor of the legislation. Their conduct on Capitol Hill is in a large part exactly their conduct before congressional committees.

I might say it is not designed to make friends or influence people in Washington. So it is actually in effect the kiss of death to much legislation which might otherwise be considered and which should be considered.

Mr. POTTER. Also the legislation that you can expect will come under the leadership of Negro leaders such as Mr. Tappes and others rather than the leadership of the James Watts.

Mr. TAPPES. I'd like to comment on this party record registration. Of course, I have never seen one before and I might say that I don't know the purpose of designating a person by his race but that is something that our union doesn't approve of and we finally succeeded in many plants in eliminating race designation to the extent where there are many plants today and if you'd ask how many Negro employees you have or white employees, they'd be unable to tell you. I might say that vocally that has been something that the Communist Party has advocated but it looks here that in practice in their own organization, they have continued to violate what they have always considered a principle.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, they don't practice what they preach?

Mr. TAPPES. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. I may say right at that point, that this investigation, in the subpoenaing of witnesses, has been conducted on exactly the same basis as that which you described in some plants, where it is not known before an appearance here on the witness stand in many instances as to what the race of an individual may be. Now have you at any time joined an organization known as the National Negro Congress?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes; I did. I don't recall the year but it could have been sometime in 1943.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at the time you joined it know that it was a Communist-dominated organization?

Mr. TAPPES. No; I didn't know that and I very vehemently denied that when other people attempted to tell me so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did a time arrive when you changed your mind about the character of the organization?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes; that time did occur.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee about it, please?

Mr. TAPPES. In 1944 I was chosen as a member of the national board of the National Negro Congress. I had been sent to a convention or conference of the congress in New York City. I had been sent there with the sanction of the executive board of local 600 who paid my expenses to and from New York.

I was there for a 3-day period. If I am not mistaken, the conference began on a Saturday and ended on a Monday. I was accompanied by the executive secretary of the Detroit council of the National Negro Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was that?

MR. TAPPES. Vera Vanderberg. I am trying to get the dates right. It was either in 1943 or 1944. Upon my—well, after the conference had ended, Mrs. Vanderberg and I, who were from Detroit—I think we were the only representatives from Detroit on that occasion—were asked if we would accompany some of the officials from the New York headquarters downtown in New York to an important discussion on congress affairs or congress matters.

They stated that of course we wouldn't have any authority except that they thought that we could present a picture of the activity of the congress and progress in the city of Detroit. We agreed to attend the meeting.

The meeting was held on Twenty-third Street in a building that housed the headquarters of the Council on African Affairs, and we were introduced to a person by the name of Frederick Field.

MR. POTTER. Frederick Vanderbilt Field?

MR. TAPPES. I don't know whether it is Frederick Vanderbilt. I do know it was Frederick V. Field. He seemed to be a slight individual of sandy hair, about my height; I suppose not quite as tall as I and we were shown into the front suite of offices on the first floor, I believe, and we sat in on that session which seemed to be concerned with the lack of progress or success by the congress in recruiting memberships.

At that time I think there was an annual membership of \$1, and the congress hadn't been very successful.

During the course of the discussion—and I don't recall the exact persons that we accompanied to the meeting so I would hesitate to mention names—a person from the New York headquarters gave a description of their activities in West Virginia and in that particular area of the United States. They mentioned some other States, I think eastern Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and other areas—related areas—and then Mrs. Vanderberg was asked to give a report on what was going on in Detroit although before she spoke the same person gave a fairly exaggerated, I might say, picture of success in Detroit.

Mrs. Vanderberg, of course, followed the same line and gave a similar report which led me to believe there was some—well according to the attitude of Field, there seemed to be, to say the least, some impatience with the progress of the National Negro Congress. Despite the reports that had been given, he was still reluctant to do whatever these people had been discussing before they arranged this personal visit.

So then one of the people that I accompanied said:

"We will have to put all our cards on the table." She said, "The National Negro Congress is a Communist-front organization and it was organized for the purpose of carrying the party program into the Negro neighborhoods and Negro districts of the United States."

They went on to say they had active councils in West Virginia, eastern Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and they mentioned some city in South Carolina, New Orleans, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Detroit, and some other cities that I don't remember.

My first reaction was that these people evidently or this person evidently had made a slip, or had assumed that both Mrs. Vanderberg and I were also members of the party, or were acquainted with the fact that the congress was a party front because this is the first time

I had ever heard a straightforward statement, by someone who had authority to make the statement, that the National Negro Congress was a front organization of the Communist Party.

I didn't say anything to Mrs. Vanderberg about it because I didn't know how to say anything to her about it and I wasn't too sure that that had registered as deeply with her as it did with me. So upon my return to Detroit and upon reaching my office, I dictated a letter of resignation to the national board of the congress and mailed it in to New York. I never received a reply from that letter and from then on I didn't receive invitations to the regular meetings of the board of the Detroit council although I was a member of that board.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the purpose in visiting Frederick V. Field the obtaining of funds for the operation of the organization?

Mr. TAPPES. That was the substance of the meeting; I gathered this much or I will say I didn't pay as much attention as I could have, but I anticipated the knowledge I obtained. However it seems that the congress had exceeded its budget and in relation to this budget there was supposed to have been forthcoming a certain amount of funds from the organizational efforts of the people of the staff and that the people on the staff had failed to raise these funds and had exceeded the budget. Therefore the question of designating more funds to them from some source was at issue.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the committee knows from its other investigations that the address given in New York is the address of the office building owned by Frederick Vanderbilt Field.

Mr. WOOD. I believe this will be a good time to take a recess for lunch. The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:25 p. m., the hearing was recessed until 2 p. m. the same day.)

AFTER RECESS

Mr. WOOD. Let us have order. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Tappes, will you tell us, if you know, any part that the Communist Party played here in Detroit in connection with the Communist-front organization known as the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born and the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. TAPPES. The American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born I know very little about although as secretary of local 600, I was in receipt from time to time of mail and conference calls in which they invited the local union to send delegates or contributions and was personally invited on occasion to attend meetings or affairs that they were sponsoring.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were any substantial contributions made to that organization from the funds of local 600?

Mr. TAPPES. None that I recall to the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born. I don't know whether the records would indicate or not but I think it would be safe to say that if they were, they were rather minor and not a steady type of contribution.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, what with regard to the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. TAPPES. The Civil Rights Congress, as I first knew it, was known as the Civil Rights Federation which for many years, my

impression, was a local organization. Later on I found out that they were affiliated with a national organization known as the National Federation for Social Liberties. I believe that on one occasion while in New York City I visited their headquarters, which if I remember correctly, was somewhere down in the lower business section of Manhattan Island. Presently it is known as the Civil Rights Congress and that as a result of a convention held, I believe in Chicago, in which the Civil Rights Federation, National Federation for Social Liberties and the National Negro Congress resolved themselves as previously constituted and reestablished in the one organization known presently as the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever have occasion to discuss any of the business of the Civil Rights Congress or any of those organizations which were finally consolidated to make up the Civil Rights Congress on aspects that dealt with the Communist Party?

Mr. TAPPES. No; I never had any personal reason or occasion to be interested in it. The National Negro Congress was a part of the organization and I had already turned in my resignation as a board member of the National Negro Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Art McPhaul come to you on any occasion after you resigned and take up the matter with you in connection with any one of those organizations?

Mr. TAPPES. I recall Art McPhaul coming to me, I believe it was in the year 1946, but the matters he wanted to discuss with me weren't so much the two organizations, although he did mention the congress, both congresses, that is, the Civil Rights Congress and the National Negro Congress. His particular interest in talking with me was to get from me my opinion on why the Communist Party was unable to secure what he termed the more able or qualified leadership type of Negro to become active in the party activities and why they weren't able to recruit them or to hold their interest in Communist Party affairs and the like. It seems that the party was concerned about the caliber of leadership among Negroes that they had in the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall what advice you gave to him at that time?

Mr. TAPPES. Not particularly. I don't know what kind of advice I would give him now. The kind of leadership that the party would be able to get from Negro people—I could certainly tell him why he has been or would be unable to get that type of Negro to adopt the policies and program of the Communist Party. I certainly would not be in a position to give him any advice or I wouldn't be inclined to give him any advice to help him in that direction.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has, in the course of its investigation, discovered a statement attributed to you in the press in which it was said that you supported or advocated the withdrawal of troops from Korea, or to that effect. The article seemed to be slanted along the line—that which was known to be the Communist Party line—with regard to the situation in Korea. Do you know what I refer to?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes; I am acquainted with that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee all about it, please?

Mr. TAPPES. I was confronted with the same statement not too long ago when five people were charged in local 600 with allegedly being either Communist or subservient to the Communist Party.

On the witness stand during those proceedings I was called upon to explain the statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. Exactly what was the statement attributed to you?

Mr. TAPPES. There was a statement published on the front page of one of the issues of the Daily Worker in the spring of 1950 in which it said that I subscribed to the idea that the troops should be withdrawn from Korea and implying that my attitude was that the United States Government was acting in an imperialist fashion in that section of the country. My explanation then and my explanation now is that a young fellow came into the building of local 600 some time prior to the publication of this article. He had one of these clip boards with a number of papers on the clip board, and he was talking to several people. When he came to me he told me he was a student and he was making a survey, a public-opinion survey. He asked a number of questions with regard to the war in Korea, and among the questions he asked was, "Do you approve of war? Do you think this will lead into world war III? Would you like to see the war ended?" And questions along that line. The specific answers I gave to the questions in no way conformed to the article as it was eventually published, and at no time was I under any understanding that this young man was even interested in the Daily Worker or any program that is associated generally with the Daily Worker. I made straightforward answers which were heard by not less than half a dozen people standing around in the lobby of local 600. But the twisted version that did appear in the paper represents to me only a fabrication and an untrue reporting of what had actually been said and certainly wasn't in line with the purposes as stated by the interviewer.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you did not make the statements attributed to you in the Daily Worker with regard to Korea?

Mr. TAPPES. No, I didn't. In fact, my opinions were absolutely contrary to what was said.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether that was a concerted plan to misrepresent the thoughts of people? Was there anything that happened to indicate to you that it was a concerted plan to misrepresent the views of people in this area?

Mr. TAPPES. I don't know that I understand the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether the same thing happened to any other person, that happened to you? Do you know whether Frank Savage was similarly reported?

Mr. TAPPES. I received second-hand information through a third party, that is, that the same thing had happened to Frank Savage, who was the chairman of the trial committee, local 600 trial committee, that was hearing the cases of the five charged people. Frank Savage—I think it was a very unfair thing to do to Frank Savage because he is a well known and very devout Catholic, so devout that he will go to almost any extent to prove his faith, and he has been known to do penance for even little small things that he thought were injurious or harmful to another individual. He is known as a very devout and religious person.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No, except to thank you for your testimony, Mr. Tappes. It has been very helpful.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. I wish to thank Mr. Tappes for his testimony that has been given here. It has been a credit to the work you have done and a credit to the leadership that you now hold.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Tappes, do you know the witness Lee Romano who testified before this committee yesterday?

Mr. TAPPES. Yes, I do. I have known Lee Romano for several years.

Mr. Wood. Approximately how many?

Mr. TAPPES. About 12.

Mr. Wood. During that time have you been associated with him in labor movement work?

Mr. TAPPES. At times I have been associated with him very closely. At present, we work out of the same UAW office building.

Mr. Wood. Ordinarily I give no credence to anonymous publications and I am now only speaking for myself and not as a policy of this committee, but I hand you a bulletin, a leaflet which I am told was circulated at the gate of the Ford plant this morning, which purports to attack Mr. Romano as being discriminating against the Negroes because of race in his work as union organizer and in connection with his activities in the trade-union movement, and it is signed—how is it signed, "Communist Party of Michigan"?

Mr. TAPPES. That is the signature on it.

Mr. Wood. No name, just, "Communist Party of Michigan"?

Mr. TAPPES. That's all.

Mr. Wood. Well, in all the time you have ever known Mr. Romano have you ever heard anybody outside of the Communists ever assail him for discrimination or disloyalty to working people?

Mr. TAPPES. No; and I would like to say this for Mr. Romano: His record on that question, I think, speaks for itself. The people in local 600 know his record. But specifically, I can say this: Lee Romano was a delegate to the first general council session of local 600 and he was the first person to ever introduce a resolution in that general council in 1941 in behalf of the rights of the Negro people and his stand has been consistent with that resolution ever since, as far as I know, and furthermore, in the pressed steel unit that seems to be mentioned in this leaflet, Lee Romano, probably more than any single individual, was a person who encouraged the Negro workers to participate in their union affairs and he himself, during his administration, saw more Negroes achieve positions of importance in that unit than any other president of the pressed-steel unit has had during its history as an adjunct of local 600.

Mr. Wood. Then, from that statement would you say that the charges and allegations concerning racial discrimination on the part of Lee Romano contained in that leaflet are true or false?

Mr. TAPPES. I would say they are false and only points out the Communist Party's effort, whenever they are under attack, to try to reach out to the Negroes and get their assistance for their devious program when there is no real sincerity as far as they are concerned in behalf of the Negro people.

Mr. Wood. I desire to join with my colleagues in expressing to you the appreciation of the committee for your presence here and for the very enlightening and illuminating testimony that you have given the committee.

If there are no further questions on behalf of counsel, I will excuse the witness from further attendance, with our sincere thanks.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. John Gallo.

Mr. Wood. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GALLO. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN GALLO, ACCCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, ERNEST GOODMAN

Mr. GOODMAN. My client has requested that the photographers withhold taking pictures while he is testifying.

Mr. Wood. Is that your wish?

Mr. GALLO. That is my wish.

Mr. Wood. I will have to request the photographers to comply with the request of the witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name?

Mr. GALLO. John Gallo.

Mr. Wood. Just a minute. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. GALLO. I am represented by counsel.

Mr. Wood. There is no need for counsel to identify himself again. You are familiar with his address.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. GALLO. I was born in Holden, W. Va., February 25, 1913.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you now live in Detroit?

Mr. GALLO. No, I live in Dearborn.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Dearborn?

Mr. GALLO. Since I came from West Virginia, September 1935.

Mr. TAVENNER. How have you been employed since 1935?

Mr. GALLO. Well, I first was hired in Ford's in October 1935. At the same time I happened to turn professional boxer in West Virginia, I had three bouts there, so I continued my professional boxing in Michigan. In 1936 I won the professional welterweight championship of Michigan. That's just a point I want to bring out as far as employment is concerned because professional boxing was partly considered employment. I got fired for union activities at Ford's there. Of course, I joined the union in 1937; I helped to be one of many that organized Ford's because I couldn't see, especially old people, who had a lot of seniority were fired at will by the Ford Motor Co., at that time, and I could not help but feel that I was wasting my time boxing professionally where there was so much evil to be corrected in the Ford empire at that time. I figured that my place was among the workers there that needed a union for security.

I won my case as far as the unemployment compensation hearings, that I was denied unemployment compensation by the company because the company fired me. Yet, on the compensation office they stated I quit voluntarily, so you can imagine how I was black-listed all over because in every plant I went to, I couldn't find a job because the Ford Motor Co. was working pretty close with these other companies and they made it tough. Not only that, but at the same time the last resort I had was to go to the welfare department

in Dearborn to ask for welfare. The welfare department was controlled by the Ford Motor Co. At that time, they told me right out, "We'll not give you any welfare because you had no business organizing—help to organize Ford's." Anyway, when the hearing came up before Referee Rubinoff, I had everybody subpoenaed in the company that had me fired and after 3 or 4 hours of hearing by Referee Rubinoff, the story went that I got fired for laughing, that I was discharged for that and that's the basis that the company had, the reason they fired me, I was laughing so much that I kept everybody else from working on the assembly line.

So I got my back pay for being discharged by the Ford Motor Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. GALLO. I think—that was 1940, that's when I was—

Mr. TAVENNER. Reinstated?

Mr. GALLO. Well, it was 1941 I was reinstated; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were one of 37 who were reinstated?

Mr. GALLO. Well, I was one of quite a few. I don't know whether I was one of 37. I happened to join the union in '37. I'm not as fortunate as some people that joined sooner than that because I didn't have the opportunity at this time. I did join in 1937 and I've been active in the union since then.

Mr. TAVENNER. What have been some of the principal positions you have held in the union?

Mr. GALLO. Well, I was the first chief steward in Ford's there from the motor building; I was sergeant at arms at the motor building; I was the first one to organize a ball team under the local 600 banner in 1938, where we didn't have a union then organized; and I helped to build up the recreational program with Bill Widman, that was in 1941. When Bill Widman left, I had the endorsement of the athletic board and at that time I became his successor, so I was educational director from 1945 until—from 1941 to 1945.

In my activities as far as the recreation program was concerned, I fought to break down discrimination in every sport and my record will show that. I had the first interracial UAW-CIO ball team. I helped to break discrimination in all sports with the exception of bowling, which is finally beginning to crack.

I was elected guide of local 600, the first guide in 1942, and I was the guide until 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. After 1945 what positions did you occupy in the union? Just the major ones.

Mr. GALLO. I went back to work in the shop and the next term I ran for guide again and was elected by a big majority. I became recreational director again for that one year until I lost out. In 1947, rather, I didn't—anyway, in 1947 I didn't run because I wouldn't sign the Taft-Hartley affidavit.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you resigned from your position because of your refusal to sign the Taft-Hartley affidavit, did you not?

Mr. GALLO. That's common knowledge all over the country at that time as far as my position then.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have not answered my question. I said, did you resign because of your refusal to sign the Taft-Hartley affidavit, non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. GALLO. Yes. As I stated before, counsel—

Mr. TAVENNER. You did not answer my question before. Will you please be responsive?

Mr. GALLO. I stated to you that I didn't sign the Taft-Hartley affidavit before you asked me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that—

Mr. GALLO. I refused to sign the Taft-Hartley affidavit, that's true.

Mr. TAVENNER. And resigned?

Mr. GALLO. And resigned when the membership voted by a majority decision that they wanted everybody to sign the Taft-Hartley affidavit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why weren't you willing to sign the Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. GALLO. I haven't given you—well, the rest of my union offices—

Mr. TAVENNER. We will come to that.

Mr. GALLO. O. K., that's good. I refuse to answer that under the privilege of the fifth amendment at this time.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photostatic copy of a news item that appeared in the Detroit Times, February 20, 1947. In this article a John Gallo is identified as athletic director of Local 600, UAW, a member of the Dearborn Communist Club and in 1943 was appointed to the Provisional Youth Committee that was to function between the time the Young Communist League was dissolved and the American Youth for Democracy was formed. Will you look at the part of the article dealing with you which I believe is the first item at the top, and state whether or not any statement contained therein is untrue?

Mr. GALLO. I refuse to answer that under the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did James Watts testify in a trial conducted by local 600 in 1950, at which time you along with others were charged with being members of the Communist Party or adhering to the Communist Party line, and in so testifying, Mr. Watts stated that you were known to him to be a member of the Communist Party? If Mr. Watts so testified, was he telling the truth?

Mr. GALLO. I will have to answer that by the oath I took in our membership, that any proceedings of our membership is only open to its membership. Even the press was excluded from the trial at that time, and under that I refuse to answer under the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position do you now hold in local 600, if any?

Mr. GALLO. I am recording secretary of the motor building.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GALLO. I will answer that in this way: That in 1938 this so-called Un-American Committee came into Detroit to help keep us from organizing Ford's and that at that time they used stool pigeons—

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a minute. That is not at all responsive to my question. You are taking the opportunity to make a speech on an entirely different subject.

Mr. GALLO. No, I'm not. I'm trying to make a point here, counselor.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand.

Mr. WOOD. Let me impose this observation at this point. You were asked a very simple question which I direct you to answer without

making a speech about it. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GALLO. I want to answer that one that I refuse to answer under the privilege of the fifth amendment. And now, if you please, I would like to explain what I started to explain before I was interrupted.

Mr. WOOD. Explain anything you desire to explain as far as the action of the presently constituted committee is concerned—

Mr. GALLO. If you don't have anything to hide—

Mr. WOOD. This committee has nothing to hide.

Mr. GALLO. I believe it don't want to hear the other side.

Mr. WOOD. What is it that you want to say about this committee?

Mr. GALLO. This Un-American Activities Committee deliberately came into Detroit in 1938—

Mr. WOOD. That is not this committee.

Mr. GALLO. It is part of that committee.

Mr. WOOD. Not a single one of them.

Mr. GALLO. It uses the same techniques as the Un-American Committee that came here.

Mr. WOOD. Do you say now that this committee is using the technique of trying to prevent the organization of unions?

Mr. GALLO. The American Committee—

Mr. WOOD. I am talking about this committee.

Mr. GALLO. The Un-American Committee which—

Mr. WOOD. I have no objection to your criticizing this committee if you want to criticize this committee as presently constituted.

Mr. GALLO. I could really criticize this committee an awful lot. I want to make my point: This committee is out to break organized labor. They couldn't do it then and they're not doing it now.

Mr. WOOD. As it is presently constituted?

Mr. GALLO. You're darned right.

Mr. WOOD. That is your opinion of the committee?

Mr. GALLO. That is my opinion, that this committee is out to break organized labor.

Mr. WOOD. Do you have any further questions, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GALLO. I answered that before.

Mr. WALTER. No, you didn't. You just refused to answer whether or not you are now a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. GALLO. As I stated before, I refuse to answer under the privilege of the fifth amendment. Does that explain it?

Mr. WALTER. It explains nothing except that you are afraid to answer the question. Why don't you answer the question?

Mr. GALLO. I wish that you people would answer the questions I would like to ask you as a whole and we'll see whose faces are red. And I could show where this committee here, especially through Potter, who is trying to defeat Moody for the coming election, and also Jackson—

Mr. WALTER. We have been insulted by better Communists than you are—

Mr. JACKSON. Much more able.

Mr. WALTER. —and by much more able men.

Mr. WOOD. I am not going to countenance levity in this room. We will ask the officers to eject from the room any person who starts a demonstration here, either by loud laughing or any other demonstration. This committee had this matter up and its views are very definite about it. If you do not desire to stay in this room and maintain proper decorum, it will be very greatly appreciated by the committee, by whose courtesy you are here, if you will withdraw.

Mr. GALLO. Could I ask Chairman Wood one question, which applies to the whole committee if you don't have anything to hide?

Mr. WOOD. You are here as a witness, not an interrogator.

Mr. GALLO. You people are interrogators, not me. I am willing to discuss things.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. The witness is excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Call Mr. Nelson Davis as the next witness.

Mr. WOOD. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DAVIS. I do.

TESTIMONY OF NELSON DAVIS, ACCCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, ERNEST GOODMAN

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mr. DAVIS. Nelson Davis.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. DAVIS. Brownsville, Tenn.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you now live in Detroit?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Detroit?

Mr. DAVIS. Ever since 1922.

Mr. TAVENNER. How have you been employed since 1940?

Mr. DAVIS. Since 1940?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. DAVIS. Ford Motor Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now employed by the Ford Motor Co.?

Mr. DAVIS. I would like to make a statement. I have been employed ever since I came to the city of Detroit except I would say 3 or 4 weeks.

Mr. TAVENNER. I was drawing no inference by not asking you about your employment prior to 1940. There is no point in asking you about your employment earlier than that. I did not want to go into needless details but if there is anything you think important—

Mr. DAVIS. I would like for the committee to know I have been working at the Ford Motor Co. since about 4 weeks after I came to this city in January; I started about the 14th of February and I have been working at the Ford Motor Co. ever since.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now employed by the Ford Motor Co.?

Mr. DAVIS. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what capacity?

Mr. DAVIS. My classification is corefitter, vice president of the Dearborn Iron Foundry.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hear the testimony of James Watts when he testified against you and others in a trial conducted in local 600 in the year 1950—1951, was it—the year 1951?

Mr. DAVIS. You mean did I hear him when—

Mr. TAVENNER. When he testified against you and others in the trial to which I refer.

Mr. DAVIS. I would like to say here and now I think that's a business that concerns the union and I think is no business of yours.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. The union was preferring charges against you and certain other people for affiliations with the Communist Party or adhering to the Communist Party line. We are not investigating local 600, we are investigating communism in local 600 or anywhere else we find it.

Did James Watts testify in the course of that trial that you were a member of the Communist Party, and if so, was it true or false? I will make the question a little more specific. Did James Watts in that trial testify that you recruited him into the Communist Party? If he did, was it true or false?

Mr. DAVIS. I refuse to answer that on the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a printed pamphlet, entitled, "Ford Unionist in Cuba," by Nelson Davis, and attached to it, rather inside of it is a sheet with the heading, "Who is Nelson Davis?" In the fourth paragraph you will find the words, "Nelson Davis is a Communist." Will you examine it, please, and state whether or not you see that in the fourth paragraph?

(Document was handed to witness.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you see that paragraph?

Mr. DAVIS. I looked at that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it true or false?

Mr. DAVIS. I would like to say this: I would like for this committee—

Mr. Wood. Just answer the question that was asked you.

Mr. DAVIS. I have a picture of a Negro being lynched—

Mr. Wood. The question is: Is that statement true or false?

Mr. DAVIS. I would like to ask this committee to put their selves in my shoes, and as a Negro, what would you do in this question?

Mr. Wood. I would answer the question.

Mr. DAVIS. You would?

Mr. Wood. I will answer questions as to my affiliations with any organization, anywhere, any time.

Mr. DAVIS. Will you give me your stand on stopping lynching of Negroes? See this picture—

Mr. Wood. You object to that sort of action, don't you?

Mr. DAVIS. Of what?

Mr. Wood. Lynching of anybody. You object to it, don't you?

Mr. DAVIS. Certainly I do, as a Negro.

Mr. Wood. So do we.

Mr. JACKSON. So does every member of the committee.

Mr. DAVIS. What have you did about it? I would like to say this—

Mr. Wood. Let's not get into any argument.

Mr. DAVIS. In the State of Virginia, where these seven people was lynched, I like to know what you do about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. There was a white man executed with those men for the same offense.

Mr. DAVIS. I'm asking you what you do about it to stop it.

Mr. TAVENNER. The question asked you was whether or not that statement that you have identified is true or false.

Mr. DAVIS. I will refuse to answer and stand on my constitutional rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. I stand on my fifth amendment of the Constitution and refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. As before stated, I stand on my constitutional rights of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. No further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused from further attendance?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. The witness is excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Roy Narancich.

Mr. WOOD. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. NARANCICH. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF ROY NARANCICH, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, EARNEST GOODMAN

Mr. GOODMAN. Mr. Chairman, my client says that he would prefer not having pictures taken during his testimony.

Mr. WOOD. Is that your wish, that you don't—

Mr. NARANCICH. Yes, Mr. Wood.

Mr. WOOD. I will ask the photographers to refrain from taking pictures while Mr. Narancich is testifying.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mr. NARANCICH. Roy Narancich.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. NARANCICH. Yugoslavia.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been in this country?

Mr. NARANCICH. Since 1914.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date of your birth?

Mr. NARANCICH. October 31, 1896.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been naturalized?

Mr. NARANCICH. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. When?

Mr. NARANCICH. May 20, 1929.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the courts in Detroit?

Mr. NARANCICH. In Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you now live in Detroit?

Mr. NARANCICH. I live at Dearborn.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Dearborn?

Mr. NARANCICH. Approximately about 17 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you now employed?

Mr. NARANCICH. I am employed by Ford Motor Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been employed by the Ford Motor Co.?

Mr. NARANCICH. Will be 32 years next May.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you held any positions in recent years with local 600?

Mr. NARANCICH. I was committeeman in 1941 and I was a council member, 1944 and 1945, and I am still council member.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have been identified by Mr. Lee Romano as having been at one time a member of the Communist Party. Is that true or false?

Mr. NARANCICH. Are you still on local 600, Mr. Tavenner? I like to explain a little about my local which is a most democratic local in the country. Everybody got a right to run for position, regardless which caucus he belongs.

Mr. TAVENNER. That's right. When you ran for office, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. NARANCICH. You particularly here to smash unity in local 600?

Mr. TAVENNER. No. We are here to smash communism.

Mr. NARANCICH. You are—and you not succeed. Henry Ford try, very roughly spend \$13 million to smash that union.

Mr. Wood. You are directed to answer the question that was asked you, and to answer it without further speeches.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you ran for office in local 600?

Mr. NARANCICH. I understand, Mr. Tavenner, that the Constitution is glory of our Government, is that right?

Mr. Wood. I direct you to answer the question that was asked you.

Mr. NARANCICH. I will answer it. I heard a man testify here 5 hours and yet he don't say anything. Can't I say a few words?

Mr. Wood. He answered the questions.

Mr. NARANCICH. I will answer.

Mr. Wood. Let's hear you.

Mr. NARANCICH. You here, Mr. Wood, to take everything from organized labor what they gained under Roosevelt administration, that's what you came here—

Mr. Wood. Are you going to answer the question?

Mr. NARANCICH. I'll answer.

Mr. Wood. Let's hear you answer.

Mr. NARANCICH. Say again, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time you ran for office in local 600?

Mr. NARANCICH. I understand that—

Mr. Wood. Just answer that question.

Mr. NARANCICH—the Constitution is glory of our Government. Under the fifth amendment, I won't answer this question.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say that you will not answer the question?

Mr. NARANCICH. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why is it that you will not answer the question?

Mr. NARANCICH. Why? I couldn't—wouldn't be a witness against myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. Have you talked with any of the displaced persons who have recently come to this area from Europe?

Mr. NARANCICH. I couldn't answer that question.

Mr. WALTER. You don't want to answer that question?

Mr. NARANCICH. I couldn't answer.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why this witness should not be excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Well, let the witness be excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Harold Franklin.

Mr. GOODMAN. Mr. Franklin was up to see me and I have not seen him here all day. I know that he has been up here before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you make inquiry? We will call him again.

Mr. GOODMAN. He intended to be here. I will check on it.

Mr. WOOD. Well, we will call him again.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Walter Dorosh.

Mr. WOOD. Are you Mr. Dorosh?

Mr. DOROSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DOROSH. I do.

TESTIMONY OF WALTER DOROSH, ACCCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, ERNEST GOODMAN

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mr. DOROSH. Walter Dorosh.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are represented by the same counsel?

Mr. DOROSH. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Dorosh?

Mr. DOROSH. Ansonia, Conn., September 19, 1919.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now live?

Mr. DOROSH. 2861 Roulo, Dearborn, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Dearborn?

Mr. DOROSH. Approximately 25 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your educational background?

Mr. DOROSH. Graduated Henry Ford Trade School and 4 years of Ford apprenticeship.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you now employed?

Mr. DOROSH. Diemaker, Ford Rouge plant, tool and die unit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you hold any position at this time in local 600?

Mr. DOROSH. I am at the present time on a special assignment, working in local 600 to reverse the decision of the WSB relative to the 28½ cents an hour wage increase to the tool and die workers, which we are fighting for at this time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any other assignments?

Mr. DOROSH. No, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you connected in any way with the official paper of local 600 known as Ford Facts?

Mr. DOROSH. I have already told you the assginment that I am on, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you answer the question, please?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question under the privileges granted me under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you mean to state to this committee that the occupying of any position or having any connection with the publication of Ford Facts, if you were to answer that truthfully, might tend to incriminate you and subject you to criminal prosecution?

Mr. DOROSH. Mr. Chairman, or rather counsel, I feel that because of the evidence that has been brought up here relative to the Ford Facts that I must invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you mean to leave the inference that Ford Facts is a Communist publication? Isn't that a very unfair thing to your local union? No one else has said that. There is no testimony here that Ford Facts is a Communist paper or publication.

Mr. DOROSH. Mr. Chairman, I don't want to leave no such inference at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then answer the question, please.

Mr. DOROSH. Because I am compelled to seek the protection of the fifth amendment—because of the so-called informers that will appear later, that I know of my own information will appear later that will testify and make erroneous statements—

Mr. TAVENNER. To what statements are you referring?

Mr. DOROSH. Any statements that a stool pigeon may make.

Mr. Wood. You mean you are anticipating that somebody may say something that would leave an inference that Ford Facts is a periodical and being associated with it might cause you some criminal prosecution or endanger you from being criminally prosecuted, is that what you mean to say?

Mr. DOROSH. Because of the testimony that has already been given relative to Ford Facts, I feel that I must seek the protection of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Please specify the testimony to which you refer. Will you refresh my recollection in regard to it, please?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question on my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you are asserting the privileges of the fifth amendment in good faith, then certainly you have to state to the committee facts that would indicate to them that you are claiming it on good faith or you might have to run the risk of action in regard to it.

Mr. DOROSH. I have already answered that question.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Dorosh, for benefit of the committee, particularly myself, because I confess I know nothing about it, what is Ford Facts? Is it a paper or a magazine, or what is it?

Mr. DOROSH. I believe counsel has one there before him. He can hand it over to you.

Mr. WOOD. Have you one over there?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. I have never seen one of them. For the benefit of the record, this periodical handed to me shows on the masthead, "Ford Facts, Local 600, UAW-CIO, the official organ of the World's Largest Union. 50,000 copies weekly paid circulation." I feel that ought to be in the record.

Mr. TAVENNER. To whose testimony were you referring which was such that would place you in fear of criminal prosecution if you would tell the truth in answer to my question?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question. The record will show the testimony as made.

Mr. WOOD. In that connection, with respect to the latter part of your answer, the record will show the testimony of several witnesses. The committee would like to be informed as to which particular witnesses' testimony you have apprehension would cause you some jeopardy of prosecution if you should answer whether or not you had any connection with this newspaper or periodical. If there has been such testimony given by witnesses here before this committee, which one of them was it? I would like to know myself for my own information.

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does the newspaper have a managing editor?

Mr. DOROSH. Yes; it does.

Mr. TAVENNER. What are his duties?

Mr. DOROSH. I am not certain.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does it have a publicity committee? Does the newspaper have a publicity committee?

Mr. DOROSH. Yes; it does.

Mr. TAVENNER. What are the duties of the publicity committee?

Mr. DOROSH. I believe that is the personal business of Ford local 600 and on my oath of office I refuse to reveal any personal findings of the local union or its records to an un-American committee such as this.

Mr. TAVENNER. You refuse to state what the duties of the publicity committee are? Let me ask you this: Were you a member of the publicity committee or are you now a member of the publicity committee?

Mr. DOROSH. Yes; I am a member of the publicity committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is Mr. James Simmons also a member of the committee?

Mr. DOROSH. I believe the paper says so.

Mr. TAVENNER. This appears on the masthead of the paper. Aren't you and Mr. Simmons members of the publicity committee?

Mr. DOROSH. I believe so.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you the February 16, 1952, issue and ask you to look at page 3 and at an article entitled, "Who Is Un-American Asks Brother Boatin?" This appears over the name of Paul Boatin,

president. As a member of the publicity committee, did you prepare that statement or that article?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question under the privileges granted me under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I ask you to look at page 4 and see if you see another article, this time entitled, "A Review of Labor Frame-Ups" which appears over the name of Art Speed, president of the paint and construction unit, and I will ask you if you prepared that article.

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will ask you to look at page 5 and state whether or not you see there another article entitled, "Says Committee Is Infamous Organization" appearing over the name of John Horn, president of the tool and die building. Did you write that article?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Again on page 5 I will ask you to look and see if an article is not there, entitled, "Committee Is Utterly Rotten Claims Ed Lock." Did you prepare that article?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who directed the publication of those articles?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer the question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Dorosh, during the course of the hearing Mrs. Bereniece "Toby" Baldwin testified as follows:

Walter Dorosh has been very active in Communist presswork and is employed at Ford Motor Co. and belongs to the Communist group within the section.

Did you in performing any of the functions of a publicity committee-man act in behalf of the Communist Party in connection with any of the articles which I have just mentioned?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question under the privileges granted me under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Mrs. Baldwin's testimony that you belonged to the Communist group within section 4 and within the Ford section, true or false?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question under the privileges granted me under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time serve as press director of the Ford section of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason given before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. No further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why this witness should not be excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. Wood. The witness is excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. Wood. Call your next witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Dave Averill.

Mr. Wood. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear to tell this subcommittee the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. AVERILL. I do.

TESTIMONY OF DAVE AVERILL

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Mr. Dave Averill?

Mr. AVERILL. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. AVERILL. I am not. I do not need a lawyer to tell me how to tell the truth.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are fully aware of your rights and privileges under the Constitution?

Mr. AVERILL. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please give your full name?

Mr. AVERILL. My full name is David Averill.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. AVERILL. I was born in Flint, Mich., September 5, 1911.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you now live in Detroit?

Mr. AVERILL. I live in Dearborn.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Dearborn?

Mr. AVERILL. I lived in Dearborn since October, I believe, 1951, and previous to that I lived in Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long had you lived in Detroit?

Mr. AVERILL. With the exception of an enlistment that I served in the United States Navy when I was a boy, I lived in Detroit since 1922.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present employment?

Mr. AVERILL. I am employed by Ford local 600 as editor of the official newspaper, Ford Facts.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been so employed?

Mr. AVERILL. Since July 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. By whom are you employed in that capacity?

Mr. AVERILL. I am employed by the local union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that an appointive position or is it one of a contractual relationship by which the head of the organization does the employing?

Mr. AVERILL. It is appointive.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who appointed you?

Mr. AVERILL. I was appointed by Carl Stellato, the president of the local union.

Mr. TAVENNER. We have had some difficulty here finding out what the Ford Facts is. Is it an official organ of local 600?

Mr. AVERILL. It is.

Mr. Wood. By that you mean it is financed by this organization?

Mr. AVERILL. It is financed by a portion of dues from each member of the local union, I believe.

Mr. Wood. It comes through the union?

Mr. AVERILL. That's right. I think it's 2 cents per member per month that is deducted from the dues of the member to finance the publication.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to your appointment to that position how were you employed?

Mr. AVERILL. I worked in the pressed-steel building of the Rouge plant. It is now known as the Dearborn stamping plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you an employee at that time of the Ford Motor Co., or were you an employee of the union?

Mr. AVERILL. I was an employee of the Ford Motor Co., but from the time the union came in I was an officer in one function or another in the union.

Mr. TAVENNER. What are some of the principal offices that you held in the union?

Mr. AVERILL. Well, I have been a committeeman on all three shifts at one time or another. I also was a 3-year trustee of the unit, and that is about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Averill, the Michigan Worker, of July 9, 1950, at page 10, carries an article to the effect that you are a former member of the Communist Party. Is this publication of the Communist Party correct in its identity of you as a former member of the Communist Party?

Mr. AVERILL. That is correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the circumstances under which you joined the party?

Mr. AVERILL. I was recruited into the party either late in 1941 or early in 1942, I have forgotten the exact time. If I have your permission to do so, I would like to go into this in some detail.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. AVERILL. In the first place, I was discharged from the United States Navy at the age of 21 and came right into the middle of the depression. I lived through that period and I became quite bitter about the whole thing. I became convinced that this country needed great social changes. I believed the solution to the problem was socialism. I might as well say here that had I been asked to join the Communist Party in those days I probably would have become a member of the Communist Party longer than I was. I didn't know any Communists then. In 1941 with the organization of the Rouge plant, suddenly there were Communists crawling all over the place and the first one that asked me to join the party gained a new recruit. I, of course, became disillusioned shortly afterward.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you stay in the party?

Mr. AVERILL. I stayed in the party until, I believe, about the latter part of 1943.

Mr. TAVENNER. 1943?

Mr. AVERILL. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your reason for leaving the party?

Mr. AVERILL. My reasons for leaving the Communist Party and—I should like to observe that it is much harder to get out of the party than to get into it—my reasons for leaving it were based upon the fact that I discovered the democracy so-called Communists always preach, does not exist within their own movement. Your thinking is done for you. In order to be a successful Communist you have to be completely and utterly unprincipled. I found that out after I had been in the party only a brief time. What I really discovered is that it was and is a totalitarian organization. It mouths the philosophy of a foreign government. In my opinion it is out to overthrow the Government of the

United States by force and violence. As I say, I became disillusioned when I found out that in the Communist Party there really is no difference between Stalinism, Hitlerism, and fascism, they are merely three different names for the same evil. I left the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was your break with the party final and complete?

Mr. AVERILL. Very definitely, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let us go back to the time of your recruitment into the party for a few minutes. The committee in the course of its investigation has learned of a person by the name of Roy Wilson, a former shop worker and later an employee of the department of public welfare of the city of Detroit. Did he have any part in recruiting you into any organization?

Mr. AVERILL. I was recruited into the Young Communist League by Mr. Wilson. I should like to point out at this particular time—that at that particular time you had two forces operating within the pressed-steel unit. You had the Young Communist League and you had the party itself. As I recall, most of us at that time in the pressed-steel unit were members of the Young Communist League but could hardly be considered youths, since most of us were 30 years of age at the time, but nevertheless we were in the Young Communist League. Later we were absorbed into the structure of the Communist Party itself and became full-fledged members of the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you a member of the Communist youth, the Young Communist League, before you were brought into the Communist Party as such?

Mr. AVERILL. I should say possibly 4 or 5 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you were brought into the Communist Party, to what cell or unit of the Communist Party were you assigned?

Mr. AVERILL. Pressed-steel cell.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you held the position of financial secretary.

Mr. AVERILL. I was the dues secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the pressed steel?

Mr. AVERILL. I was dues secretary of the pressed-steel branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you mean of the Communist Party?

Mr. AVERILL. Of the Communist Party, in the pressed-steel branch of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is very easy to confuse terms because the Communist Party cells bore the same name as the building in Ford, in many instances.

Mr. AVERILL. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you have occasion to refer to a unit, specify whether it is the unit of employment or whether it is a unit of the Communist Party.

Mr. AVERILL. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You held the position of financial secretary of the pressed-steel unit of the Communist Party?

Mr. AVERILL. That I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you hold that position?

Mr. AVERILL. I should say possibly 7 or 8 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold any other position within the Communist Party?

Mr. AVERILL. I don't recall ever holding any other position within the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. As financial secretary, what were your opportunities for observing the operation of the Communist Party in the field of labor? Possibly you should begin first by stating what your duties were as financial secretary.

Mr. AVERILL. My duties were to collect the dues of members within the pressed-steel branch of the Communist Party. Those were my specific duties.

Mr. TAVENNER. What disposition did you make of the dues that you received?

Mr. AVERILL. They were turned into the party chieftain of the branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the party chieftain of the branch at that time?

Mr. AVERILL. As I recall, it was Mrs. Ann Beiswenger. But I should say here I don't recall ever turning dues in to Mrs. Beiswenger. I really don't remember who I turned them in to, but Mrs. Beiswenger was in charge of that particular branch at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. From the time that you became a member of the Communist Party in 1941 up until 1943, when you left the party, what were your opportunities for observing how the Communist Party operated in the field of labor?

Mr. AVERILL. In the first place, the role of the Communist Party from a union standpoint has been greatly exaggerated. The Communist Party has posed as the most militant defender of the working class. Some of them were quite active in the organizational period of the Ford Motor Co., the union organizational period, but they were not any more active than the honest workers who wished to be organized into a legitimate trade-union and who are at least 95 percent of the membership of local 600. So, insofar as their participation in the struggle of the Ford workers to win a union, insofar as their own remarks about themselves and their importance is concerned, their contribution was relatively small. On the other hand, the way they operated within the cells of the various units was to try to recruit everybody they could into the party, providing they thought the person was a reliable person. This way they could gain control chiefly through the secondary leadership of the union. When I say "secondary leadership," I mean committeemen, for example. They never really tried to, as far as I know, elect a president of local 600, that is, one of their own persons. They never tried to elect one of their own individuals president of local 600, but they certainly have supported individuals for the presidency of local 600 who were willing to accept the support of the Communist Party in order to get elected. I would say their chief role was to capture the secondary leadership of the local union, which would thereby enable them to maintain a great degree of control over the local union itself.

Mr. TAVENNER. If they were successful in capturing the secondary leadership as you mentioned, a person to be successful would almost have to account to that group.

Mr. AVERILL. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would he not?

Mr. AVERILL. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. To get advancement in the union.

Mr. AVERILL. That is correct. I should also like to point out in relation to Ford Facts another thing, that the Communists are always

eager to obtain control of the publication and for a number of years they were quite successful in that regard. The first thing they tried to get hold of in the local union is the paper, because that gives them a propaganda medium.

Mr. TAVENNER. We would like to know what efforts were made to take over the official organ of the union, Ford Facts, as a propaganda medium.

Mr. AVERILL. Well, the first editor of Ford Facts was a man by the name of Frank Wynn; that is, I believe he was first official editor. If I remember rightly, there was a publication of some kind before Wynn's time. Anyhow, he was the first official editor. Frank Wynn is publicity director of the international union, UAW-CIO. Mr. Wynn, to my knowledge, was never a member of the Communist Party nor does he subscribe to any of its ideas. However, after that, things began to roll along pretty well as far as the Communists were concerned for a period of years. I don't think I would be exaggerating by saying that Ford Facts was nothing more or less than a minor edition of the Daily Worker. For example, in the publication weekly, they would follow the current line of the Communist Party. When the line would flop, the publication would flop with it. Every cause that the Communists were engaged in at that time would find themselves reflected in our local union publication.

Mr. TAVENNER. With reference to what period of time are you speaking?

Mr. AVERILL. I am speaking from about 1942 until 1948, with one exception. During the period, there were two editors who, to my knowledge, were not members of the Communist Party and who did not in any way use the paper for the purpose of following the Communist Party line. However, those two editors were not editors for a very lengthy period. One of them, I believe, was editor for 1 year and the other was editor of the paper for a matter of 6 or 8 months.

Mr. Wood. At this time, Mr. Counsel, we will take a short recess.
(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. Wood. Let us have order, please. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Averill, you spoke of two editors who remained only a short time. What were their names?

Mr. AVERILL. One of them is named John Fitzpatrick and the other Al Leggat.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Robert Lieberman at any time an editor of Ford Facts?

Mr. AVERILL. Yes. Robert Lieberman was editor of Ford Facts, as I recall, for two different periods of approximately 1 year each.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, he is the same witness who appeared in executive session and did not answer material questions.

Mr. Wood. By that you mean he refused to answer questions pertaining to his connection with the Communist Party?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. Wood. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were describing the history of Ford Facts. It has come to the attention of the committee that there was an occasion for the holding of a picnic which we understand was held or sponsored by the Ford foundry at which the guests were Vito Marcantonio and Paul Robeson. Do you recall anything about that?

Mr. AVERILL. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the speech made by Paul Robeson he was very critical of the United States. It was fully covered by the Daily Worker. Do you know whether there was a similar article in a similar vein in the Ford Facts?

Mr. AVERILL. Mr. Robeson's speech was not printed in full in Ford Facts but as I recall a portion of it or excerpts from it were printed in one of the unit columns. I think it was the gear and axle unit of the Rouge plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were the contents of the article approved by the editor of the paper at that time?

Mr. AVERILL. I was the editor of the paper at that time and I very definitely did not approve of it.

Mr. TAVENNER. As editor, were you not in the position where you could have excluded it or at least have it comply with the facts as you understood them to be if you so desired?

Mr. AVERILL. At the time the article was printed I had just come off vacation. Mr. Stellato, the president of local 600, went on vacation about 2 days after I came off mine.

This controversy which was raging about whether Mr. Robeson's speech should or should not be printed in Ford Facts was going on at the time I returned. Mr. Stellato went on his vacation. I was asked by the vice president of the local union, Mr. Rice, to publish Mr. Robeson's speech. I told him I would not publish it. Mr. Rice became highly perturbed about the whole thing. He called me into his office. We had a meeting and he informed me that he was president of the local during Mr. Stellato's absence and that I was going to abide by his orders or else. The upshot of the whole thing was that he told me the material had been submitted by Mr. Moore.

Mr. TAVENNER. What Mr. Moore?

Mr. AVERILL. Mr. Dave Moore of the gear and axle unit, which contained excerpts, I believe and as I recall, from the speech of Mr. Robeson. He told me to print that and I printed it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was this the same Mr. Dave Moore who has appeared as a witness on the witness stand—I am sorry, I am mistaken—I am informed he has not appeared. Were you acquainted with Mr. Dave Moore?

Mr. AVERILL. I know Mr. Moore; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at that time know whether he had at any time been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. AVERILL. I couldn't truthfully answer that question, one way or the other.

Mr. Wood. Is that still true?

Mr. AVERILL. Pardon me, is what still true?

Mr. Wood. That you cannot truthfully now state whether he has ever been a Communist or not.

Mr. AVERILL. During my experience in the Communist Party I never saw Mr. Moore. I couldn't say whether Mr. Moore was a member of the Communist Party or not.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have been separated from the Communist Party since 1943?

Mr. AVERILL. Yes; since 1943.

Mr. TAVENNER. This occurrence took place when?

Mr. AVERILL. This took place, I believe, in August 1951, last year.

Mr. TAVENNER. An examination of Ford Facts indicates a notice

seeking voluntary contributions of funds from Ford workers to be used by Harold Christoffel in defraying the costs of appealing a perjury conviction to the Supreme Court and which was carried in the paper. I am not intending to draw any inference whatsoever from an application for funds to prosecute an appeal. However, I would like to know whether or not Ford Facts furnished its patrons with the information relating to Mr. Christoffel at the time they made the paper available for the solicitation of contributions.

Mr. AVERILL. You mean prior to the solicitation of funds?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; or at the time of solicitation of funds.

Mr. AVERILL. I don't recall that anything appeared in Ford Facts concerning Mr. Christoffel. I can be wrong about that but I don't recall anything appearing in there except the notice that you have mentioned, which came after the appeal for funds.

Mr. TAVENNER. There was nothing in the paper, as far as you recall, which would show the reason why Mr. Christoffel had been convicted nor what he had been convicted of?

Mr. AVERILL. I don't recall, sir. It is entirely possible that there might have been something in one of the unit columns but I don't recall it.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you the February 16, 1950, issue of Ford Facts. A number of questions have been propounded to various witnesses regarding certain articles appearing therein. I want to call your attention to page 2, where there appears an article under the byline of Alix Semion, president of the gear and axle plant. The title is, "The Committee Plans on Sweating Trade-Unionists." Did Mr. Semion deliver that article to you for publication?

Mr. AVERILL. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you prepare it?

Mr. AVERILL. I did not.

Mr. TAVENNER. On page 3 there appears another article under the byline of Paul Boatin, president of the motor and engine plant, entitled, "Who is Un-American? Asks Brother Boatin." Did Brother Boatin hand you that article for publication?

Mr. AVERILL. He did not.

Mr. WALTER. Who was the ghost writer of these articles?

Mr. AVERILL. Mr. Walter Dorosh.

Mr. WALTER. That was the man who just preceded you on the witness stand!

Mr. AVERILL. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the same thing true as to the remaining series of articles, the one on page 4 entitled, "A Review of Labor Frame-ups" under the byline of Art Speed, president of the paint and construction unit?

Mr. AVERILL. That is also a production of Mr. Dorosh.

Mr. TAVENNER. There is one appearing under the name of Joe Morgan, president of the frame and cold heating unit, entitled, "Joe Morgan Says the House Committee Is a Phony."

Mr. AVERILL. That was prepared also by Mr. Dorosh.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then look at page 5 of the issue and see if there appears there under the byline of Ed Lock, president of the plastic building, an article entitled, "Committee Is Utterly Rotten, Claims Ed Lock."

Mr. AVERILL. That was also prepared by Mr. Dorosh.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then again on page 5 an article under the byline of John Orr, president of the tool and die, entitled, "Says Committee Is Infamous Organization."

Mr. AVERILL. That too was prepared by Mr. Dorosh.

Mr. TAVENNER. Also on page 5 an article under the byline of Mike Donnelly, president of Dearborn assembly plant, entitled, "Donnelly Blasts Congress Group."

Mr. AVERILL. That was also prepared by Mr. Dorosh.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now the publicity committee as shown on the mast-head of the paper is composed of Mr. Dorosh and there are several other names. Among them is a person by the name of James Simmons. Do you know whether James Simmons had any connection with the preparation of those articles?

Mr. AVERILL. I don't know whether he did or did not but I don't think he did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Those articles were handed to you by Mr. Dorosh?

Mr. AVERILL. They were presented to my secretary by Mr. Dorosh.

Mr. TAVENNER. They all indicate that they were in the handwriting of the same person, is that not correct?

Mr. AVERILL. That is correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you accustomed to receiving articles from Mr. Dorosh which were being carried under the byline of other persons?

Mr. AVERILL. To the best of my recollection those are the first articles that ever appeared in the paper under the byline of other individuals, prepared by Mr. Dorosh.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you explain to the committee just how this occurred on this particular occasion?

Mr. AVERILL. We have at the present time in local 600 what is known as a workers defense committee. I was informed there was a decision of the workers defense committee that these articles should appear in the Ford Facts. The workers defense committee formulated the policy and I was instructed to carry them out.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was this defense committee formed?

Mr. AVERILL. Several months ago. I don't remember the exact date.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Tavenner, before you go on to another subject, I would like to point out something. May I have the paper, please? I would like to point out just how palpably erroneous this matter is in this smear campaign. On page 5 is given my voting record under the Mike Donnelly byline.

Mr. JACKSON. Is that one of the articles handed to Mr. Dorosh?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. On the back of that page, page 6, appears my voting record which is exactly opposite from what page 5 says that it is.

Mr. POTTER. Well, I suppose they are to skip the last page.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Averill, did Mr. Dorosh's ability extend to cartoons credited to someone else? Did he do the cartoons?

Mr. AVERILL. Mr. Jackson, to my knowledge, Mr. Dorosh is not a cartoonist.

Mr. WALTER. Who is depicted in those cartoons?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Dies, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Rankin, and Mr. Wood.

Mr. WALTER. Only one of whom has been a member of this committee for a good many years.

Mr. JACKSON. What is the Warbo Studio?

Mr. AVERILL. I do not know. These cartoons were prepared by some individual and Mr. Dorosh is the one who arranged for the cartoons to be prepared and he brought the finished product to my office.

Mr. JACKSON. Then he brought the cartoons as well as the numerous articles?

Mr. AVERILL. That is right.

Mr. Wood. Were the cartoons published under the same direction as the articles were?

Mr. AVERILL. Yes.

Mr. Wood. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether or not there is an announcement in the October 1951 issue of Ford Facts, setting forth the names of the defense committee and the establishment of the defense committee?

Mr. AVERILL. I believe there was such an announcement but I do not recall the exact day.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the purpose for the establishment of the defense committee?

Mr. AVERILL. Theoretically the purpose for establishing this committee is to obtain legal aid for those of our members whom the committee believes are having their civil rights infringed upon by anyone or any group, including the United States Government, and to furnish them legal counsel if they need it, and so forth and so forth.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were required to take your direction from that group with regard to what you included in the paper?

Mr. AVERILL. Well, this committee makes its decisions and I am instructed to do whatever the committee decided should go in the paper.

Mr. TAVENNER. Through what source did you obtain your instructions to do anything that this committee decided upon?

Mr. AVERILL. Through Mr. Stellato.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a result of the directions which you received you printed this series of articles, several of which attack this committee and its purposes?

Mr. AVERILL. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. And this investigation?

Mr. AVERILL. That is right.

Mr. WALTER. I thought the new policy of the paper was to depart from the Daily Worker line. It seems to me that you have outdone the Daily Worker in this one issue at least.

Mr. AVERILL. I might be inclined to agree with you, sir.

Mr. WALTER. That makes it unanimous.

Mr. TAVENNER. Your part in it was that of carrying out orders which were given to you.

Mr. AVERILL. As a matter of fact, my participation in this particular issue of Ford Facts extended only to carry the copy to the printer and to tell him that it had to be printed.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is noted that at the end of each of these articles is a short paragraph referring the reader to the articles in other columns in the paper, tying the whole thing together as one complete bundle. Do you know how that was arranged or who suggested it?

Mr. AVERILL. I believe that was one of Mr. Dorosh's ideas.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Averill, I realize that you withdrew from the party in 1943 but I am going to submit certain names to you which have come to the attention of the committee, and I am going to ask you whether or not, during the period of your membership in the Communist Party, these persons or any of them were known by you to have been members of the Communist Party. If you identify any of these as members of the Communist Party, I wish you would state how you know it to be true and if there are any instances in which any of these persons have withdrawn from the Communist Party as you did, that information should be given also.

The first name I desire to ask you about is J. B. Jones.

Mr. AVERILL. Mr. Jones was a member of the Communist Party to my knowledge and he left the Communist Party by, I should say, 1944.

Mr. TAVENNER. Daniel Zahari?

Mr. AVERILL. Mr. Zahari was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you know that?

Mr. AVERILL. I know that because I kept the dues book in the pressed steel branch of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Archie Acciacca?

Mr. AVERILL. For the same reason, I collected his dues.

Mr. TAVENNER. John Little?

Mr. AVERILL. John Little was a Communist Party functionary. I saw him at many Communist Party meetings. In fact, I participated in many Communist Party meetings at which he was the organizer of the meeting and the speaker.

Mr. TAVENNER. Roy Wilson?

Mr. AVERILL. Roy Wilson was the man who recruited me into the Young Communist League and he was a party member to my knowledge—to my knowledge I believe he is no longer a member.

Mr. TAVENNER. Simon Moskalik?

Mr. AVERILL. Simon Moskalik was also a member of the pressed steel branch of the Communist Party. I collected his dues.

Mr. TAVENNER. Roy Narancich?

Mr. AVERILL. The same applies to Mr. Narancich.

Mr. TAVENNER. Frank Stepanchenko?

Mr. AVERILL. The same applies to him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dewey McGee?

Mr. AVERILL. I have seen Mr. McGee at meetings of the Communist Party. I don't recall collecting his dues, but I may have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mack Cinzori?

Mr. AVERILL. I have seen Mr. Cinzori at Communist Party meetings but Mr. Cinzori was not a member of the pressed-steel branch of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mike Hrabar?

Mr. AVERILL. I have also seen Mr. Hrabar at Communist Party meetings but I never collected his dues. He worked in the tool and die unit.

Mr. TAVENNER. John Gallo?

Mr. AVERILL. I have also seen Mr. Gallo at Communist Party meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Ed Lock?

Mr. AVERILL. I have seen Mr. Lock also at Communist Party meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Paul Boatim?

Mr. AVERILL. I have also seen Mr. Boatim at meetings of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. John "Whitey" Saari?

Mr. AVERILL. Mr. Saari was a member of the pressed-steel branch of the Communist Party and for a brief period I collected his dues.

Mr. TAVENNER. I do not recall whether I asked you about Robert Lieberman.

Mr. AVERILL. Robert Lieberman, at the time I was a member of the Communist Party, was a Communist Party functionary in the Rouge plant. He was on the payroll of the local union at the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Walter O. Brown?

Mr. AVERILL. Walter O. Brown was a member of the pressed-steel branch of the Communist Party. I recruited him into the organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Emmett Forsythe?

Mr. AVERILL. Emmett Forsythe I have seen at party meetings. I don't recall ever collecting his dues although I may have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Art McPhaul?

Mr. AVERILL. Mr. McPhaul was very definitely a member of the pressed-steel branch of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you advise the committee in any further way than you have already advised them as to how the Communist Party sought to handle its propaganda through the press or other methods?

Mr. AVERILL. Well, there is not much I can add to what I have already said in regard to that. The main objective of the Communist Party is to gain control of publications and in this particular instance the aim was always to gain control of Ford Facts. For many years in our local union they had control of it. There are no other methods that I know of except propagandizing the workers in the shop, the solicitation of subscriptions to their publication, and things of that nature.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

Mr. WALTER. I personally want to thank you, Mr. Averill, for the position you have taken with respect to this matter. It is too bad there are not more truly enlightened liberals such as yourself in this country. I feel that as a result of your experience you probably would be the kind of person to resist the pressures of this foreign ideology more than anybody who had not had your experience. I hope that you will give to organized labor the benefit of your great talents in the future because if you do, their lot is going to be greatly improved.

Mr. AVERILL. Thank you for your opinion, sir. If I may be permitted to do it, I would like to make a statement for the record.

I would like to say that if my appearance here has done anything to lessen the grip of the Communist Party upon any local union anywhere, that I am happy to have been here. I made a serious mistake in 1942 and I have always regretted it. I am happy to a certain extent to be here today. These people talk about stool pigeons. I should like to point out for the information of this committee and anyone else who is interested that once I left the Communist Party I was not particularly eager to have a lot of my friends know that I was once a Communist. But the organization that accuses everyone of acting as stool pigeons did exactly that, they acted as stool pigeons and informed upon me. That organization was none other than the

Communist Party itself through the medium of their publication, the Michigan Worker.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that a form of intimidation?

Mr. AVERILL. That is the intent, I believe. One thing they succeeded in doing is in telling everybody I was once a member of the Communist Party. Strangely enough, if you call a Communist a Communist, you are a "Red baiter." But it is all right for a Communist to call you anything. They are capable of rationalizing anything. I might add that this personal attack upon me has been constant in their publication for almost a period of 10 years. I repeat, if I have been of any service to my country and to my union in helping to expose Communists, that I feel that that is the best contribution I can make to the union to which I have the honor of belonging, and which I wish to see rid of the Communist element because on the basis of my own experience I know that the Communists are not only bad for America, bad for the world, but they are bad for the American labor movement.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Jackson, do you have any questions?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I also would like to congratulate Mr. Averill upon his decision of some years ago, and also upon his frankness and willingness to come before the committee today. I am also a newspaperman and I know how repugnant it is to newspapermen to have complete and absolute dictation exercised over their copy. I should like to ask, how many of the workers in local 600 are aware of the statements which you have made, that Ford Facts is controlled and dominated by those who either are Communists or those who follow the Communist line? Are the workers generally aware of that fact?

Mr. AVERILL. No; they are not, Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. How many of the workers in local 600 know that a number of articles attributed to various individuals were in fact written by one individual?

Mr. AVERILL. The workers do not know that.

Mr. JACKSON. I hope they will know it after today.

Mr. AVERILL. I hope so too.

Mr. JACKSON. I hope they know that they were not reading the honest, objective statements of several individuals but rather the perverted vitriolic statements of one man.

Mr. AVERILL. I hope so.

Mr. JACKSON. A fraud was perpetrated upon the workers who read Ford Facts in that very issue, is that not the case?

Mr. AVERILL. That is what it amounts to.

Mr. JACKSON. What is your connection, if any, with Mr. William Allan?

Mr. AVERILL. I know Mr. William Allan and that's all.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you know him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. AVERILL. No. I entered the Communist Party at the time when Mr. Allan had entered the United States Army and I left the Communist Party before he came back from the Army. I only know him as a fellow who kicks around local 600 all too often.

Mr. JACKSON. What particular form does his kicking around local 600 take?

Mr. AVERILL. Mr. Allan oftentimes has had conferences with people who I say were inclined to subscribe to his political beliefs. I do not know the nature of those conferences but I have seen Mr. Allan around occasionally.

Mr. JACKSON. You mentioned the workers defense group, which was established several months ago for the purpose of creating a defense fund. Who are the moving factors in the workers defense group?

Mr. AVERILL. Well, actually, I believe the committee roughly runs from 12 to 15 members and out of the 12 or 15, the four top officers of local 600 are also included. The thing is supposed to be set up and as a matter of fact is on the basis of representing the political thoughts of the various groups within local 600, that is, the political groups.

Mr. JACKSON. Does it so represent various political opinions?

Mr. AVERILL. That is a tough question, sir, but the answer is that it does not.

Mr. JACKSON. I would say having read the issue of Ford Facts presented here that only one political thought is enunciated and that is Communist.

Mr. AVERILL. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. And it is five times as vitriolic as any copy of the Daily Worker that I have ever seen. Those responsible really outdid themselves. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POTTER. Mr. Chairman, I wish to join my colleagues in thanking Mr. Averill for being a witness here today. I know it takes a great deal more personal strength and character to take the stand that you have taken, knowing the position that you have held and that you now hold, and the position which I assume you will be going back to, further, knowing the abuse that will be heaped upon you when you do get back. It takes a man with a lot more courage than the men who sat in that chair and have cloaked themselves with the fifth amendment in order not to testify before the committee.

So to you : I wish you every success in whatever endeavor you might care to engage in, and I know that not only the committee but the workers at Ford's and the American people are indebted to you for the testimony that you have given.

Mr. AVERILL. Thank you, Mr. Potter.

Mr. Wood. Are there any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Averill, I desire to join with my colleagues in an expression of my sincere appreciation for the contribution you have made at these hearings and to the American people. It has been said, and I think truthfully so, that the highest degree of moral courage is exemplified in admitting the wrong and seeking to redress it. For that stand on your part you are entitled to the commendation of all loyal American citizens from everywhere.

Mr. AVERILL. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Wood. My personal expression is extended to you with the thanks of the committee. You may be excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. Wood. Call your next witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. John Saari.

Mr. Wood. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SAARI. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN SAARI, ACCCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, ERNEST GOODMAN

Mr. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. SAARI. I am.

Mr. WOOD. Will counsel give his name for the record?

Mr. GOODMAN. My name is Ernest Goodman, with offices in the Cadillac Tower.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. SAARI. John Saari.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. SAARI. I was born in Centralia Heights, Calumet, Mich., on January 20, 1915.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you now live in Detroit?

Mr. SAARI. I live in the city of Dearborn.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived there?

Mr. SAARI. Since I came to the city, and that is about 15 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you now employed?

Mr. SAARI. I am now employed at the Ford Motor Car Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you at any time held an official position in the union?

Mr. SAARI. I have been on several occasions elected to the district committee as a committeeman, and presently I am a 3-year trustee of the motor plant as well as the district committeeman of the Dearborn engine plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been a member of the Communist Party at any time while you held such a position?

Mr. SAARI. I refuse to answer that under the privileges of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have just heard the preceding witness testify, have you not?

Mr. SAARI. I did, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. He identified you as a person known to him to have been a member of the Communist Party. Do you wish to deny or affirm it?

Mr. SAARI. I refuse to answer that under the privileges of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Any questions, Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. The witness is excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. WOOD. Call your next witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Tersil Obriot.

Mr. Wood. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. OBRIOT. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF TERSIL T. OBRIOT, ACCCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL,
ERNEST GOODMAN**

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. OBRIOT. I am.

Mr. GOODMAN. I am representing Mr. Obriot. My name is Ernie Goodman and I have offices in the Cadillac Tower Building.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name?

Mr. OBRIOT. Tersil Obriot.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. OBRIOT. I was born October 3, 1902, in Pennsylvania.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you now live in Detroit?

Mr. OBRIOT. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived there?

Mr. OBRIOT. I have been here ever since 1923.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were identified as having been a member of the Communist Party by Mrs. Toby Baldwin. I desire to give you an opportunity to either deny or affirm that.

Mr. OBRIOT. I would like to speak in the interests of the Ford workers which I helped to organize. I believe sincerely that this committee should know that I have been brought here—this Un-American Committee which is here today has stated that I was brought here for the purpose of being un-American. I believe sincerely that I have the right to tell the things that is necessary and that I am able to do, the things that I have done, which I think is American.

Mr. Wood. Will you answer the question, sir; and then if the answer is a forthright answer and you want to explain, very good.

The question asked was: Was Mrs. Baldwin's testimony here true or false?

Mr. OBRIOT. I heard speech here for 5 hours at a time where people have spoke. The committee has stated we have the right for democracy.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Obriot, you are not only requested but directed to answer the questions that are asked you.

Mr. OBRIOT. Well, under the provisions of the fifth amendment, I refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. No further questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. Wood. The witness is excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Saul Grossman.

STATEMENT OF ERNEST GOODMAN, COUNSEL FOR SAUL GROSSMAN

Mr. GOODMAN. His wife called me last night at my house and said that he had got the flu and that they had the doctor over. I told her to bring down a letter or something to show the committee that that was true. I did not have it this morning.

Mr. WOOD. You did not have it this morning?

Mr. GOODMAN. No, sir; it was brought in during the recess. I have not opened it.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is supposed to be a medical certificate?

Mr. GOODMAN. It is in the envelope of a doctor.

Mr. TAVENNER. I suggest that we examine it, Mr. Chairman, and call another witness while it is being examined.

Mr. WALTER. You said these people communicated with you last night?

Mr. GOODMAN. Last night at 8 p. m.

Mr. WALTER. Why did you not tell us these things this morning so that we could make a check?

Mr. TAVENNER. He did, Mr. Walter. He told me about it during the course of the morning, early this morning.

Mr. GOODMAN. You suggested that I make sure that they get a statement in. I called back and told them to make sure and get a statement. That is all I know about the matter.

Mr. WOOD. Very well, the committee will examine it.

Mr. GOODMAN. I do not know the doctor at all.

Mr. WALTER. This is a reputable physician?

Mr. GOODMAN. I believe so. However, I do not know the doctor at all. I never heard of him.

Mr. WOOD. Unless something is shown to the contrary, I will be forced to hold this showing is good. The doctor says the man is in bed with the flu and will be confined to bed for the balance of this week.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, under the circumstances, when we are trying to finish here today, we have not had an opportunity to make any inquiry of the doctor.

Mr. WOOD. For the benefit of counsel I will make the statement that it is contemplated that it will be necessary either here or in Washington to have some additional witnesses that we have not been able to examine here, at a later date. I suggest that you make arrangements to try to have him subpenaed at that time, or we can let the subpena stand subject to notification.

Mr. TAVENNER. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that you extend the subpena now until the 26th of March in Washington at 10 a. m.

Mr. WOOD. All right, at which time he will appear unless notified to the contrary.

Mr. GOODMAN. Do you want me to notify him?

Mr. TAVENNER. You are his counsel. You can tell him that it is being extended now until the 26th of March.

Mr. GOODMAN. The 26th of March in Washington, unless he is notified to the contrary?¹

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. At 10 a. m.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed, counsel.

¹ See p. 3203 for testimony of Saul Grossman.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will call Mr. Ruben Mardiros.

Mr. WOOD. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please?

Mr. MARDIROS. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MARDIROS. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF RUBEN MARDIROS, ACCCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, ERNEST GOODMAN

Mr. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. GOODMAN. My name is Ernest Goodman, attorney at law, with offices in the Cadillac Tower Building.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name?

Mr. MARDIROS. Ruben Mardiros.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. MARDIROS. I was born in 1906, September 3, in Turkey.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. MARDIROS. Came to the United States 1921 in December.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized citizen?

Mr. MARDIROS. I am a naturalized citizen.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you naturalized and when?

Mr. MARDIROS. In Detroit, 1930, September 23.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name under which you were naturalized?

Mr. MARDIROS. Ruben Mardiros. Prior to that time, my name prior to naturalization was Ruben Gerjekin. It was changed by law.

Mr. TAVENNER. How have you been employed, Mr. Mardiros?

Mr. MARDIROS. I am employed by Ford Motor Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. For how long a period of time?

Mr. MARDIROS. Since 1927.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you work there now?

Mr. MARDIROS. I do; as a toolmaker.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you held any official positions in the union?

Mr. MARDIROS. No. I have not. Of course, during the organization drive I was one of the organizers but since then I haven't held any office in the union.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of a letter dated April 13, 1939, and ask you to examine it and state whether or not it was signed by you.

Mr. MARDIROS. Under the provisions of the fifth amendment I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your middle initial?

Mr. MARDIROS. I haven't any.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever used a middle initial?

Mr. MARDIROS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever signed your name "Ruben S"?

Mr. MARDIROS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your answer?

Mr. MARDIROS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have been identified by Mr. Romano as a member or as having been a member of the Communist Party. I desire to give you this opportunity to deny or affirm that.

Mr. MARDIROS. Under the provisions of the fifth amendment I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Are there any questions by members of the committee?

Mr. JACKSON. No.

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. POTTER. No.

Mr. WOOD. The witness is excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I will call Mr. Harold Franklin.

STATEMENT OF ERNEST GOODMAN AS COUNSEL FOR HAROLD FRANKLIN

Mr. GOODMAN. Let me check. I had somebody call his home.

Mr. TAVENNER. This is the man who did not answer—

Mr. GOODMAN. A friend of his has called the plant and found out that he was working there today and has left for home at the end of the shift. He was supposed to be on his way home. He was called about 15 minutes ago and was not there yet. He will call again right now. I do not know why he did not come down here. He worked all day in the plant.

Mr. WALTER. Does he live far?

Mr. GOODMAN. I would say he lives out near Olympia Stadium and could get here very shortly.

Mr. WALTER. Is he going to testify when he comes?

Mr. GOODMAN. He has been subpoenaed to testify.

Mr. WALTER. Is he going to answer any questions?

Mr. GOODMAN. Of course I do not think I am in a position to state that.

Mr. WALTER. There is a strong presumption that with you representing him, he will not.

Mr. GOODMAN. I must say, gentlemen, that I have explained the provisions of the fifth amendment to all my clients and its implications and I have left the choice to determine to them whether they want to refuse to answer questions under that amendment. I have never directed the choice of that answer to any witness here.

I want to say further—

Mr. WALTER. We understand.

Mr. WOOD. Is it your thought that the witness might be able to arrive before we adjourn?

Mr. GOODMAN. I just had someone else go out to make a phone call.

Mr. WOOD. We will make inquiry again before we adjourn, to see if he is here.¹

Call your next witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Jules Yanover.

Mr. WOOD. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. YANOVER. I do.

¹ See p. 3212 for testimony of Harold Franklin.

**TESTIMONY OF JULES YANOVER, ACCCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL,
BERNARD PROBE**

Mr. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. YANOVER. I am.

Mr. WOOD. Will counsel please state his name for the record?

Mr. PROBE. I am Bernard Probe, attorney at law, with offices in the National Bank Building.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Jules Yanover?

Mr. YANOVER. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. YANOVER. I was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., October 20, 1912.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. YANOVER. In Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Detroit?

Mr. YANOVER. For the past 7 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did you state was the place of your birth?

Mr. YANOVER. Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have lived in Detroit for 7 years?

Mr. YANOVER. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that, where did you live?

Mr. YANOVER. I have lived in Milwaukee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever live in Baltimore?

Mr. YANOVER. Yes; I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you live in Baltimore, and when?

Mr. YANOVER. I think 1944, I'm not absolutely sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you live there when you were in Baltimore?

Mr. YANOVER. Approximately somewhere around a half a year more or less. I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. What business were you engaged in in Baltimore?

Mr. YANOVER. During the period I lived in Baltimore I worked in the Bethlehem Shipyards and I was there only a short time and then I changed my job to—it was in a factory that made parts for airplanes. I can't just recall the name of the plant. It used to be a Chevrolet plant before it was converted.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you worked at the shipyards were you acquainted with Walter McManamon?

Mr. YANOVER. Could you identify this person?

Mr. TAVENNER. He was an organizer for the Marine Shipbuilders Union.

Mr. YANOVER. I rely on my privileges under the fifth amendment and decline to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of a cell of the Communist Party among employees of the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corp.?

Mr. YANOVER. I refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you employed at the Fairfield Yard? What was your place of employment?

Mr. YANOVER. I think it was the Fairfield Yard, I don't remember very accurately.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to 1944 where did you live?

Mr. YANOVER. Well, I was in the Army for about three-quarters of the year. Prior to that, I lived in Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you live in Washington?

Mr. YANOVER. I lived on—I think it was Twentieth Street; I can't recall the exact address now.

Mr. TAVENNER. What section of the city?

Mr. YANOVER. I can't remember. It was in the section of the city that was not too far away from the Potomac River.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you in Washington and how long did you live there?

Mr. YANOVER. I can't recall—

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you live in Washington?

Mr. YANOVER. I can't recall exactly; it may have been about 2 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you employed while there?

Mr. YANOVER. I refuse to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you live at any other address besides the one on Twentieth Street while you lived in Washington?

Mr. YANOVER. I don't remember where I lived exactly. I did live in some other places, in furnished room places.

Mr. TAVENNER. A furnished room?

Mr. YANOVER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. At what address?

Mr. YANOVER. It was—frankly, I just don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Having lived for two years in the city of Washington no later than 1944, you should have no difficulty in remembering the approximate address.

Mr. YANOVER. My memory isn't a very sharp one, unfortunately.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever employed by the United States Government?

Mr. YANOVER. To my knowledge I never have been.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why is there any uncertainty as to whether or not you were employed by the United States Government? It just occurred to me that that is a question you are bound to know, there is no in-between.

Mr. YANOVER. I feel that under these circumstances where every word is being weighed, there is an attempt to try to trick the witness up. I just can't make a definite statement about that.

Mr. Wood. By that do you mean that you do not know or that you will not make the statement. Which do you mean?

Mr. YANOVER. I mean that I just can't recall being employed by the United States Government.

Mr. Wood. You can't recall?

Mr. YANOVER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have more than one employer while you were in Washington?

Mr. YANOVER. I worked with a dance band in Washington for a period—I don't remember just how long.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any other employment while there?

Mr. YANOVER. I may have had other casual employment.

Mr. WALTER. What was the name of the dance band you worked for?

Mr. YANOVER. The name of the leader was Ray Hetherton.

Mr. WALTER. If you remember Ray Hetherton's name why can't you remember whether or not you worked for the United States Government.

Mr. YANOVER. I think I have already answered that, sir.

Mr. WALTER. Let's try another answer. I didn't remember the last one.

Mr. PROBE. Are you asking a question?

Mr. WALTER. Yes; I asked a question.

Mr. PROBE. You said, "Let's try another question."

Mr. WALTER. I said, "answer."

Mr. PROBE. What is the question?

Mr. WALTER. The question is whether or not you worked for the United States Government.

Mr. PROBE. Are you asking a question?

Mr. WALTER. Yes. Did you work for the United States Government?

Mr. YANOVER. Not to my knowledge I didn't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to your going to Washington—

Mr. Wood. Just a minute. Let me get it straight, if I can. Whether you worked or not, were you ever on the payroll of the United States Government in any capacity in any of its departments?

Mr. YANOVER. To my knowledge, I have never been on the payroll of the United States Government.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to 1942—or, in other words, prior to the time you went to Washington, where did you reside?

Mr. YANOVER. New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you employed there?

Mr. YANOVER. As a musician in various jobs. It would be absolutely impossible to remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you came to Detroit 7 years ago, and how have you been employed since you have come to Detroit?

Mr. YANOVER. As a musician.

Mr. TAVENNER. The entire period of time?

Mr. YANOVER. That is right, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you had any other employment?

Mr. YANOVER. No, sir; not that I can recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have been identified by Mr. O'Hair, a witness before this committee during the Detroit hearings, as a member of the Communist Party, as a person known to have been a member of the Communist Party, and I want to give you this opportunity to either deny or affirm that testimony.

Mr. YANOVER. I have always understood, Mr. Tavenner, that a person's social, political or any other beliefs were his own private concern, and I feel that under the first amendment, we are guaranteed that right, regardless whether a person is a Democrat, a Republican, a Communist, or Socialist, and I stand upon my constitutional rights under the first amendment and refuse to answer that question, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me suggest to you that that has been decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the Hollywood Ten, who relied on the first amendment, and it was decided adversely to them.

Mr. YANOVER. I said that I rely on my privilege under the fifth amendment, to refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understood you to say the first amendment. Perhaps I misunderstood.

Mr. PROBE. He added the fifth, for good measure.

Mr. TAVENNER. Probably that is the only measure.

Have you ever lived in Milwaukee?

Mr. YANOVER. I did, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You did?

Mr. YANOVER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When?

Mr. YANOVER. During—somewheres between 1944 and 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you came from Baltimore to Milwaukee instead of from Baltimore to Detroit?

Mr. YANOVER. That is right, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you in Milwaukee?

Mr. YANOVER. Somewheres between a half year and three-quarters of a year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. O'Hair made this statement with regard to you:

Ruth Yanover and her husband, Jules Yanover, came to our club from Milwaukee, Wis.

Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party in Milwaukee?

Mr. YANOVER. I refuse to answer that under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. YANOVER. I refuse to answer that under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Haven't you very recently, under oath, denied before a committee or officials of your union that you have never been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. YANOVER. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Any questions, Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. Is it true, Mr. Yanover, that the officials of your union urged you to come before this committee and make a statement?

Mr. YANOVER. I think that is a matter that concerns my union and myself, and I refuse to answer under the provisions of the fifth amendment.

Mr. JACKSON. Isn't it true that they went so far as to offer you legal counsel to come before the committee and make such a statement as might clear you in this case?

Mr. YANOVER. The same reason applies there, sir. I refuse to answer under the fifth amendment.

Mr. JACKSON. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. I have no questions.

Mr. WOOD. The witness will be excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Elliot Maraniss.

Mr. WOOD. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MARANISS. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ELLIOT MARANISS, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL,
GEORGE W. CROCKETT

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. MARANISS. My name is Elliott Maraniss.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. MARANISS. Yes, sir. Mr. Crockett is my counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. And Mr. Crockett is accompanying you?

Mr. MARANISS. (No response.)

Mr. TAVENNER. He is sitting beside you? I want the record merely to show that he is here.

Mr. CROCKETT. My name is George W. Crockett, offices located in the Cadillac Tower, Detroit, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, please, sir?

Mr. MARANISS. I was born in Boston, Mass., in February of 1918.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you now live in Detroit?

Mr. MARANISS. Yes; I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Detroit?

Mr. MARANISS. I have been a resident of Michigan since 1936 when I entered the University of Michigan. I have been a resident of Detroit since 1941.

Mr. TAVENNER. How have you been employed since 1941?

Mr. MARANISS. In June of 1941 I was employed at the Detroit Times. I am a newspaperman. I was employed at the Detroit Times from June until about the 14th or 15th of December 1941, when I enlisted in the Army of the United States and served in the Army of the United States until January of 1946, when I was discharged, honorably discharged, as a captain in the Army of the United States.

Upon my discharge I returned to my employment as a newspaperman on the Detroit Times, and was continuously employed at the Detroit Times until February 29, 1952, on which date I received a subpoena from your committee, and was summarily fired from my job.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of your employment with the newspaper?

Mr. MARANISS. I am classified as a copy reader on the Detroit Times.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Maraniss, the committee, in the course of its investigation, obtained information that on January 24 and 25, 1948, the Communist Party held a State conference at 2934 Yemans Hall, and that you were present as a delegate to the conference. Is that correct?

Mr. MARANISS. Upon advice of my counsel, I invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment of the Constitution which was written into the Constitution to prevent forced confessions.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that your employment had been practically continuous with the Detroit Times since you came here in 1941 with the exception of the period of your service, which was military service, which was rather extensive.

Mr. MARANISS. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the period of time when you were employed here in Detroit, were you employed by any other newspaper or publication?

Mr. CROCKETT. On the basis of my recollection of the testimony—

Mr. Wood. Mr. Crockett, will you please conform to the rule and confer with your client in an undertone?

Mr. MARANISS. My counsel advises me to invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. Wood. Do you do that under the advice of your counsel?

Mr. MARANISS. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you written articles for the Michigan Worker under the name of Oscar Williams?

Mr. CROCKETT. May I ask, Mr. Counsel, if the Michigan Worker has been listed as a subversive publication by your committee?

Mr. TAVENNER. No.

Mr. CROCKETT. It has not been?

Mr. Wood. And neither has the witness.

Mr. CROCKETT. I didn't inquire about the witness, Mr. Chairman. I only inquired about the publication.

Mr. Wood. The question was asked as to what he did, not what the publication did.

Mr. CROCKETT. I only asked the question as a basis for my advice to my client.

Mr. MARANISS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. In spite of the answer as to the citation of the publication?

Mr. CROCKETT. I think, Mr. Counsel, that the record here at this hearing indicates that the Michigan Worker has been labeled as the Michigan edition of the Daily Worker. Am I right?

Mr. TAVENNER. I wouldn't attempt to recite the evidence on that.

Mr. CROCKETT. Very well.

Mr. TAVENNER. Your answer is still that you refuse to answer the question?

Mr. MARANISS. I have given my answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you used the name of Oscar Williams in writing, or have you used that name in any other way?

Mr. MARANISS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. Wood. Well, do you answer then, or not?

Mr. MARANISS. And I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you at any time been a member of the professional section of the Communist Party of Detroit?

Mr. MARANISS. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question.

I wish to make a statement, however, about my views on un-American activities, if the counsel and Mr. Wood would permit.

Mr. Wood. After you answer the questions. If you answer them, we will be glad to have your explanation of anything you want to make, after you answer the questions.

Mr. MARANISS. Isn't the purpose of this inquiry to discover the thinking of people on what constitutes un-American activities, and what activities—

Mr. Wood. The purpose of this investigation at the moment is to determine first of all what your position is with reference to membership in the Communist Party, which you have refused to enlighten us about. I call your attention to the fact that you sought, at the outset of your testimony, to leave an inference that you had been deprived

of your position with the paper here because of the fact that you had been subpoenaed by this committee.

Mr. MARANISS. That is no inference. That is a fact.

Mr. WOOD. If that is true, we are offering you the best opportunity I know of for you to convince your employers—your previous employers or anybody else, for that matter, that if the committee had subpoenaed you for the purpose of identifying you as a member of the Communist Party and you are not, in fact, so a member, to so state.

Mr. MARANISS. Mr. Wood, you are not offering me any opportunity, as I see it. You have subpoenaed me and compelled me to come here and answer questions about my political beliefs.

Mr. WOOD. Well, you were subpoenaed. That is true. But now you have been asked the question which you have declined to answer.

Mr. CROCKETT. Mr. Chairman, do I understand that you are penalizing this man because he relies upon the fifth amendment, and, because of that, you refuse to let him make a statement?

Mr. WOOD. If he isn't a member of the Communist Party, I am seeking to help him. If he is, I think the public is entitled to know it.

Mr. CROCKETT. The public isn't entitled to know anything that you may properly claim the privilege from disclosing under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WOOD. I grant you the right to claim immunity under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MARANISS. Mr. Chairman, may I read you the constitution about eligibility in the union to which I belong, the union of newspapermen.

Under section 1:

Guild memberships shall be open to every eligible person without discrimination or penalty, nor shall any member be barred from membership or penalized by reason of age, sex, race, national origin, religious or political submission, or anything he writes for publication.

I believe that is an unassailable guaranty of freedom of speech and freedom of expression for a newspaperman, and the right to indulge in any political activity without fear of penalization.

Mr. JACKSON. What is that from?

Mr. MARANISS. That is from my constitution of the American Newspaper Guild, CIO, of which I am a member.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you point that out to the board of the CIO Newspaper Guild?

Mr. MARANISS. I certainly did. I pointed it out to my boss, too.

Mr. JACKSON. Then that is the forum before which you should bring the bylaws and your constitution, not this committee.

Mr. MARANISS. This a question of the rights of newspapermen to engage in political activity, freely, to hold opinions and beliefs without being subject to penalization, or being forced to enter into forced confessions before a group like this.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you take the position that the Communist Party is not a conspiracy?

Mr. MARANISS. I rely upon the fifth amendment's guaranty and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you consider the Communist Party is nothing more than a political party?

Mr. MARANISS. I again rely on my constitutional privileges and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. If it is nothing more than a political party, we are wasting a lot of time.

Mr. Wood. Any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. On the very day that you say that you received a subpoena, did you learn that Mrs. Toby Baldwin testified before this committee and identified you as having been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MARANISS. I rely upon my constitutional privileges under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Didn't you learn that on the day you were subpoenaed, Mrs. Baldwin testified before this committee?

Mr. MARANISS. Yes, I learned that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you still state, in the light of that information that you were discharged from your position because of being subpoenaed, or was it because of the testimony that was given here before this committee?

Mr. MARANISS. If I had never been subpoenaed, I would never have been forced to answer that question—I mean that fact would never have made any difference, and I wouldn't have ever been discharged.

However, Mr. Tavenner, it is my belief that back in—I believe that the management of the Detroit Times has been looking for a chance to fire me since 1947—because at that time, there was a discharge of about 12 employees of the Detroit Times for the reason of economy, and I was one of the members of the Newspaper Guild who was trying to get the union and the men there to get the reinstatement of those men, and many of them were reinstated, and I think they have had it in for me ever since.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you discharged after the testimony of Mrs. Baldwin, or before her testimony?

Mr. MARANISS. I was discharged after her testimony.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was her testimony with regard to you true or false?

Mr. MARANISS. I invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. MARANISS. May I read my statement now, Mr. Wood?

Mr. Wood. Any questions, Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. Wood. We don't permit statements. If you have one written there, we shall be glad to have it filed with the clerk.

(Whereupon, the statement of Mr. Maraniss was filed.)

Mr. JACKSON. I have a question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Maraniss, you were discharged a captain from the armed services; is that correct?

Mr. MARANISS. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you hold a commission in the Reserve at the present time?

Mr. MARANISS. No, I do not.

Mr. JACKSON. That is all.

Mr. Wood. The witness is excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. Wood. We will take a 5-minute recess.

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. Wood. Come to order.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Dave Moore.

Mr. Wood. You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MOORE. I do.

Mr. Wood. Proceed.

**TESTIMONY OF DAVID WILLIAM MOORE, ACCCOMPANIED BY HIS
COUNSEL, ERNEST GOODMAN**

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mr. MOORE. David William Moore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. MOORE. I am represented by Ernest Goodman of the firm of Goodman, Crockett, Eden & Probe, the defenders of the workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you live, Mr. Moore?

Mr. MOORE. 3900 Brush, Apartment 1, Detroit, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Detroit?

Mr. MOORE. Since 1928.

Before you ask me another question, Mr. Tavenner, I would like to say this——

Mr. Wood. Just wait until you are asked questions, sir, and then, after you answer them, if you will, you are at liberty to make any explanations about them that you want.

Mr. MOORE. Well, look, I got some reservations about the remarks you are making, you know.

Mr. Wood. No remarks.

Mr. MOORE. O. K. Mr. Tavenner, I want to ask you a question once you ask me this one.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of a passport and ask you to examine it and identify the signature thereon as your signature, if it is your signature.

Mr. MOORE. You are asking me a question about a passport; is that right? Did I understand you correctly to say a passport?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is certainly correct.

Mr. MOORE. Well, I say this on the passport deal: I think the State Department has procedures to go by as far as passports are concerned, and it is obvious what you are trying to do here, just the same as you have did to Pat Rice, is trying to tie me in with a forgery or something——

Mr. Wood. The question you were asked: Is that your signature on that passport? What is your answer to that?

Mr. MOORE. I think Mr. Tavenner asked the question.

Mr. Wood. I am asking you.

Mr. MOORE. Am I going to be given the right to answer these questions fully, or are you going to try to put words in my mouth?

Mr. Wood. I am asking the question now. Is that your signature?

Mr. MOORE. Are you going to allow me to answer fully?

Mr. JACKSON. Is this the witness that this committee has waited for all day long and has on several occasions postponed his appearance?

Mr. MOORE. I didn't know I was that important, I'll tell you that. The workers at Ford's have been waiting for me, too.

Mr. JACKSON. You can disabuse your mind of anything having to do with your tremendous importance. But this committee—

Mr. WOOD. You are directed to answer the question that has been asked you.

Mr. MOORE. As far as this passport, the question that Mr. Tavenner asked me, for your benefit also, Mr. Wood, it seems as though it is obvious that you are trying to tie me in with some passport fraud like you did Pat Rice, and I refuse to answer this question on this passport deal under my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the photostatic copy in evidence and ask it be marked Moore exhibit No. 1.

Mr. WOOD. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Moore Exhibit No. 1" and received in evidence.)

Mr. MOORE. There is one question I would like to ask Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. WOOD. You are under interrogation at the moment.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Wood, will you permit me to ask Mr. Tavenner this question?

Mr. WOOD. You are under interrogation now.

Mr. MOORE. I am not under interrogation. I am under inquisition here.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have been identified, Mr. Moore, by testimony before the committee, as having been a member of the Communist Party. Is it true or false?

Mr. MOORE. If I were to answer you whether I am a Communist—

Mr. WOOD. That is what you are asked to do, is to answer.

Mr. MOORE. Look, why don't you let me answer the question, will you?

Mr. WOOD. I am trying to get you to answer it.

Mr. MOORE. I will answer the question if you will just let me alone. You ain't going to put words in my mouth, I can assure you that. You know, you are acting like a bunch of labor relations guys out at the Ford Motor Co., you know.

Mr. WOOD. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. MOORE. If I were to answer your question whether I was a Communist or not, Mr. Tavenner, at some future date—you claim that this committee has no power to prosecute now, but under some laws that will be enacted, the McCarran Act, the Smith Act, and some things like that, some future days I would be stood up before some court and be accused of perjury and be framed and be sent to jail for saying whether I was a Communist or not. If I say I am not a Communist—if I say I am not a Communist, you will have some guy with a forged card, like you did Bill Hood, come in here and say that this is Dave Moore's signature on the card.

So on one hand I am damned if I do, and on the other hand I am damned if I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then what is your answer?

Mr. MOORE. So I refuse to answer your question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Any questions, Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Let the witness be excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. William M. Glenn.

Mr. WOOD. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GLENN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM M. GLENN, ACCCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, ERNEST GOODMAN

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please, Mr. Glenn.

Mr. GLENN. My name is William Glenn.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. GLENN. Grand Rapids, Mich., June 22, 1903.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your educational background?

Mr. GLENN. Well, I worked my way through the latter part of grammar school and through high school and 1 year of college.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present occupation?

Mr. GLENN. At present, I have no occupation. I am doing odd jobs.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where is it that you now live? Where do you now live?

Mr. GLENN. In Grand Rapids, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Grand Rapids?

Mr. GLENN. Since my birth.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Glenn, I hand you a photostatic copy of an application for a passport bearing date of April 9, 1951, and ask you whether the photograph appearing thereon is a photograph of you, and whether the signature to it is yours. Is it your signature?

Mr. GLENN. You see, Mr. Chairman, I am skeptical of this committee, the same as the previous witness.

Mr. WOOD. The committee is not concerned about your opinion of it. You were asked a direct question. What is your answer to it?

Mr. GLENN. I am concerned about the committee, because I am skeptical of this committee. You haven't been investigating lynching, the murder of the Negro people, and the rape of the Negro people. I am skeptical about answering this.

So under the fifth amendment of the Constitution, I shall not answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, what is the basis for your refusal to answer under the fifth amendment? What part of the fifth amendment is it which you claim is the basis for your refusal to answer?

Mr. GLENN. Well, of course the basis of the fifth amendment is to protect the American citizens against inquisitions, which I consider this is.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is your reason for refusing to answer the question?

Mr. GLENN. My attorney tells me that the fifth amendment provides that a person need not be a witness against himself. For that reason, I am refusing to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the passport in evidence and ask that it be marked "Glenn Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. Wood. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Glenn Exhibit No. 1" and received in evidence.)

Mr. GLENN. Of course, I think this is your exhibit, not mine, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you desire to travel under that passport which you applied for?

Mr. GLENN. Well, since I refused to answer the first question which you have asked me under my privilege of the fifth amendment, I should refuse to answer all other questions pertaining to this passport under the same amendment.

Mr. Wood. Then, do you refuse to answer the one that has just been asked you?

Mr. GLENN. I so stated.

Mr. Wood. No. You said you refused to answer all of them. But I want to know if you refused this specifically.

Mr. GLENN. Now I will say this specific question and all other questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you travel to Moscow in 1951?

Mr. GLENN. I have just stated, Mr. Chairman, that since I refused to answer the first question, I refuse to answer all other questions pertaining to this.

Mr. Wood. You can't refuse to answer them because you don't know what is going to be asked.

Now, what is your answer to that one? Did you travel to Moscow in 1951?

Mr. GLENN. I refuse to answer that question under my privileges of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you an original passport made out in the name of William M. Glenn, and I will ask you if you have ever used that passport in travel in foreign countries.

Mr. GLENN. I shall refuse to answer that question, Mr. Chairman, under my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the passport, please, and tell us whether or not it shows or has any reference to it having been used in Russia?

Mr. GLENN. I should refuse to answer that question under my privileges of the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you refuse to look also?

Mr. GLENN. No; I don't mind looking. I have looked.

Mr. TAVENNER. You don't find anything with regard to your having traveled in Russia, do you?

Mr. GLENN. I have been advised that I have already answered that question, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, what plan was used to enable one traveling under a passport to travel in Russia and other iron-curtain countries without a visa being recorded in your passport?

Mr. GLENN. I also refuse to answer that question under my privileges of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Instead of a visa being stamped in your passport book, you were given a separate paper, weren't you, which was collected from you and taken up by the Russian Government?

Mr. GLENN. I refuse—

Mr. TAVENNER. Rather than having a record of your having appeared in Russia; isn't that true?

Mr. GLENN. I refuse also to answer that under my privilege of the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, in examining the passport there, you can see no evidence of having traveled in iron-curtain countries; isn't that so?

Mr. GLENN. I am refusing to answer that question under by privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was done for the purpose of deceiving the State Department as to the use you were making of the passport?

Mr. GLENN. I think you are deceiving the American people by not investigating the lynching that has taken place and is taking place today.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now will you answer the question?

Mr. GLENN. I just wanted to get in a point there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; you did.

Mr. GLENN. Thank you.

Mr. WALTER. Where and when have these lynchings taken place?

Mr. GLENN. Well, in Mr. Wood's State.

Mr. WALTER. When was the last one?

Mr. GLENN. Well, right recently in Florida, I think.

Mr. WALTER. We are talking about Mr. Wood's State. When was the last one?

Mr. GLENN. Mr. Millard, I believe, was lynched in Georgia for going to the polls and exercising a democratic right to vote.

Mr. WALTER. When was that?

Mr. GLENN. I believe it was in 1948, if I recall.

Mr. WOOD. Well, you ought to get better information about it.

Mr. GLENN. It is very easy to get that information, I am sure, Mr. Wood.

Mr. WOOD. Yes; and what you have is erroneous.

Mr. GLENN. Are you saying that—

Mr. WOOD. It is erroneous both as to the facts and as to the date.

Mr. GLENN. Are you saying there are no lynchings in the United States, Mr. Wood?

Mr. WOOD. There hasn't been a lynching occurred in my State since it occurred in Michigan.

Mr. GLENN. Are you going to say that there are no lynchings occurring in the United States today?

Mr. WOOD. I will say they are occurring right here in Michigan and in Illinois.

Mr. GLENN. What are you doing about it?

Mr. WALTER. Let me ask one question: Some time ago, the American Federation of Labor prepared a complete list of the locations of slave labor camps all over Russia. During your visit to Russia, did you visit these camps?

Mr. GLENN. My roots are in the United States, and this is the country I am interested in.

Mr. WALTER. I am asking whether or not you visited these camps.

Mr. GLENN. I am telling you what I am interested in is this country becoming a democratic country.

Mr. WALTER. You haven't answered my question. Did you visit the slave labor camps?

Mr. GLENN. I answered this gentleman's questions over here.

Mr. WALTER. I am asking you a question now.

Mr. GLENN. I refuse to answer all questions and I am refusing to answer your question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WALTER. All right. I was sure you would, because that is a very sensitive question with the Commies in the United States.

Mr. GLENN. The American Negro has a very sensitive question with the American white man in the United States. I believe we are very sensitive to that question.

Mr. JACKSON. They took two white men out of a jail in San Jose, Calif., and hanged them. Did you protest that lynching?

Mr. GLENN. I would protest any lynching.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you protest the specific one with all the vociferous qualities of which you are capable?

Mr. GLENN. I certainly would. I didn't happen to know about it.

Mr. JACKSON. You didn't know about it?

Mr. GLENN. No.

Mr. JACKSON. I am glad to inform you that lynching is not restricted in any way to the Negro people.

Mr. POTTER. And lynching is not condoned.

Mr. GLENN. But you certainly know that far more Negro people are being lynched than any white people.

Mr. JACKSON. I believe that the record will show that fewer Negroes have been lynched in the last 10 years than whites who have met violent death at the hands of mobs. Statistics will bear that out.

However, there is no great protest of that fact.

Mr. Wood. That is beyond the pale of this investigation.

Any further questions, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a newspaper clipping from the Grand Rapids Herald of October 19, 1951, in which you are quoted to have said:

In 1946, I became a member of the Communist Party because of the failure of two major political parties to pass legislation protecting the constitutional rights of the Negro people—

and that you later withdrew from the party. Also that you stated this:

Realizing that the Negro rights in America cannot be achieved by this tactic has caused me to disassociate myself from the Communist Party.

Were you correctly reported?

Mr. GLENN. Well, you know, since we haven't a free press in America, about the only thing I believe in it is the date.

Mr. Wood. Were you correctly reported in that statement?

Mr. GLENN. I refuse to answer that question under my privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GLENN. I refuse to answer that question under the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GLENN. I refuse to answer that question under the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Any questions, Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. The witness will be excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mildred Pearlstein.

Mr. WOOD. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss PEARLSTEIN. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF MILDRED PEARLSTEIN, ACCCOMPANIED BY HER COUNSEL, BERNARD PROBE

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please.

Miss PEARLSTEIN. Mildred Pearlstein.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Miss PEARLSTEIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record.

Mr. PROBE. My name is Bernard Probe, with offices in the National Bank Building in the city of Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Miss Pearlstein, have you been known also by the name of Mildred Pearce?

Miss PEARLSTEIN. I refuse to answer that under the provisions of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. That it might incriminate you to state whether or not you have ever been known by the name of Mildred Pierce?

Miss PEARLSTEIN. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what business are you engaged?

Miss PEARLSTEIN. I am not working at present.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your last employment?

Miss PEARLSTEIN. I worked at Jennings Memorial Hospital.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Pearlstein—

Miss PEARLSTEIN. I am not married.

Mr. TAVENNER. Excuse me. Miss Pearlstein, there has been testimony here by Mrs. Toby Baldwin that she succeeded you as the membership secretary of the Communist Party for the State of Michigan. Is that true or false?

Miss PEARLSTEIN. I refuse to answer that under the privilege of the fifth Constitution—

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member—

Miss PEARLSTEIN. Fifth amendment, I am sorry.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MISS PEARLSTEIN. I am sorry, I didn't hear you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Excuse me?

MISS PEARLSTEIN. I did not hear you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MISS PEARLSTEIN. I refuse to answer that under the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Any questions, Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. The witness will be excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Archie Acciacca.

Mr. WOOD. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please?

You do solemnly swear that the evidence you give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ACCIACCA. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF ARCHIE ACCIACCA

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. ACCIACCA. Archie Acciacca.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. ACCIACCA. Gentlemen, you can see that I am not represented by counsel. I did not come down here to match wits with you people, and I did not come down here to stand on the fifth amendment. I came down here to tell you the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth to the best of my ability, and I hope that after you get through questioning, you will give me the opportunity to make a statement? May I have that opportunity gentlemen?

Mr. WOOD. Any explanation of your testimony that you desire, if it is a written statement, we will ask you to file it with us, or any explanation of any answer you give here you have a right to explain?

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, when and where were you born, Mr. Acciacca?

Mr. ACCIACCA. I was born on November 1, 1913, in Detroit, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not going to ask you the usual questions about your position in the union and the Ford plant because I think it has been described. But you have been a worker in the Ford plant for some time, haven't you?

Mr. ACCIACCA. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have held various positions in your union?

Mr. ACCIACCA. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. A number of witnesses have mentioned your name during the course of their testimony, and have referred to you and have identified you as having been a member of the Communist Party. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ACCIACCA. I am not, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ACCIACCA. Do you want a "yes" or "no" answer, or do you want me to elaborate or give you the details on it?

Mr. TAVENNER. I think you should answer the question "yes" or "no."

Mr. ACCIACCA. I have been.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you cease to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ACCIACCA. I believe it was in the latter part of '47, possibly early '47.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you a member?

Mr. ACCIACCA. I believe that was from either the latter part of '43 or early '44, approximately 2 or 3 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the reason for your breaking with the party and leaving the party?

Mr. ACCIACCA. May I answer first how I got into it?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ACCIACCA. The union, to me, was a new experience. I never belonged to a union before. I lived out in the country, and the only factory I ever worked at was in the Ford Motor Co. in Rouge.

In 1941 when the union came in, I became active within the union. I watched different leaders within the union, and found that some were more militant, more aggressive, than others. These people that looked to me like they were more militant and had a better program for the working people whom I was very much interested in, finally got to me and pressured me considerably.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was it?

Mr. ACCIACCA. Well, one of them was—the main one, shall I say, was one of the men you heard here yesterday, Mr. Lee Romano.

People that were holding office in our building, which at that time was known as the pressed-steel building—today it is known as the Dearborn stamping unit—they got to me and led me to believe that I was a good guy, that I am a fighter for the workers, that: "You are new in the union, and look, this Communist movement is something that is over and above the union."

Well, that went on for—I wouldn't buy that right away. That went on for a while, and then they kept coming to me and said, "Look now, we are allies. We are not enemies of Russia. We are allies. We are buddy-buddy, and by God, there is nothing wrong," I was told, "in joining the Communist Party."

Well, I made the mistake and I did join the party, and I believe in the latter part of '43 or, as I said, the early part of '44, shortly after getting in, I found out that I had made a big mistake. I found out that they just wanted to use me as a tool; that they wanted to dominate me; they wanted to dominate my union.

I never was with anybody that ever discussed with me the overthrow of our Government. I never heard that. It seemed to me that most of the carryings on was political. They tried to get more people into the organization, and tried to get as many people as possible to subscribe to their literature. I believe at that time it was known as the Daily Worker.

When I found out that the Communist Party wanted to run our union, I thought that I had better get out, and I did as I said, in

the latter part of '46 or '47, and I had nothing to do with them any more. As a matter of fact, gentlemen, it is a matter of record in my local union—and I think the world of it—in local 600, that I am bitterly opposed to the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, you are one of the members of the defense committee, aren't you, at the present time?

Mr. ACCIACCA. I was, sir. I am not now.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you get out of that?

Mr. ACCIACCA. About—oh, 6 weeks ago or maybe 2 months. Originally I was—

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any knowledge of these articles that were printed in February? I mean it took the action of your committee in February—

Mr. ACCIACCA. I was not in committee when that was done.

Mr. TAVENNER. To print the articles which have been the subject of discussion here in Ford Facts.

Mr. ACCIACCA. I was not in committee when that came up, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You had no part in playing that line?

Mr. ACCIACCA. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why was the defense committee formed?

Mr. ACCIACCA. Well, to the best of my knowledge, it was formed to give aid, legal aid and otherwise, or guidance, shall we say, to the poor unfortunate people that didn't know where to move or what to do if something should happen to them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, it was organized about last October, wasn't it, October 1951?

Mr. ACCIACCA. Well, approximately or maybe a little after that. I didn't think it was quite that soon. I will say approximately October or November. I am not too sure of the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Wasn't that about the time that it became known that the Committee on Un-American Activities was making its investigation here?

Mr. ACCIACCA. About that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Wasn't the committee designed, in the main, to counteract the work of this committee?

Mr. ACCIACCA. You say in the main?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. ACCIACCA. I wouldn't know that. I wouldn't think so. I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. We note in reading Ford Facts that on February 23, 1952, there appeared a column entitled "Claims Committee Is Un-American," Archie Acciaca, reporter.

Did you write the article yourself?

Mr. ACCIACCA. Which one is that, sir?

Mr. TAVENNER. February 23, 1952.

Mr. ACCIACCA. I have got a couple of copies, but I don't know if I have a copy of that with me. Pardon me, I do have one.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is prepared and appears there in such a way as to indicate that you were the author of it, and it bears the typewritten statement at the bottom of the article "Archie Acciaca, president." You were the president of the Dearborn stamping plant at that time, weren't you?

Mr. ACCIACCA. I still am, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You still are?

Mr. ACCIACCA. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, did you write that article or did someone else write it?

Mr. ACCIACCA. On all these articles, sir, I could answer that to cover all the articles I write. I am the editor of my own column and—

Mr. TAVENNER. I don't mean to inquire into any of your official business with your union that has nothing to do with communism. But this is an attack on the committee, and I wanted to know the origin of it. Other matters we have no desire to go into. I am just merely asking you whether you wrote that; whether that is your composition or that of another person.

Mr. ACCIACCA. Well, part of it is mine, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What part of it is yours?

Mr. ACCIACCA. Do you want me to read it, you mean?

Mr. TAVENNER. No. Just indicate to me. We haven't time to read it.

Mr. ACCIACCA. Well, that is what I am looking at, and I am hoping that I am not going to be pushed off the stand, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just answer it this way, if you will: Who else had a part in the preparation of that article besides yourself?

Mr. ACCIACCA. Who else had a part?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. ACCIACCA. Walter Dorosh gave me a hand in writing it.

Mr. TAVENNER. He is on the publicity—

Mr. ACCIACCA. He is on the publicity committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is he also on the defense council?

Mr. ACCIACCA. I am not sure. They may be listed here. I am not sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you consider that those attacks that were being made on the committee under the names of the presidents of the various buildings was Communist-inspired?

Mr. ACCIACCA. No, I couldn't say that. I don't know the individuals of this committee too well. I was led to believe, if not all, the majority of this committee voted against the 75-cents-an-hour-minimum-wage law, and to me—

Mr. TAVENNER. Well—

Mr. ACCIACCA. I am trying to bring my point.

Mr. TAVENNER. I mean that has no connection whatever with the question I am asking you.

Mr. ACCIACCA. Will you repeat it again, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. My question is whether or not the action in preparing these articles, these various articles that you heard spoken of here today by Mr. Dorosh, were Communist-inspired articles.

Mr. ACCIACCA. I would have no knowledge of that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know whether Walter Dorosh was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ACCIACCA. I did not, sir. I do not know now.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know by whose directions those articles were put in the paper?

Mr. ACCIACCA. I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who gave you directions about the article that you participated in with Dorosh?

Mr. ACCIACCA. No one other than Walter [Dorosh]. He talked to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. You don't know where he got his orders?

Mr. ACCIACCA. No, sir, if he got any.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand you withdrew from the Communist Party because of the efforts that it made to control the affairs of your union. Is that essentially what you said?

Mr. ACCIACCA. That is right, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You think that the efforts of the Communist Party were harmful to the aims and purposes of the union?

Mr. ACCIACCA. I would think so; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that is as true today as it was the day that you withdrew from the party, as far as you know?

Mr. ACCIACCA. As far as I am concerned; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Any questions, Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. I have no questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. He has a statement. I do not know whether he wants to file it.

Mr. WOOD. I am going to ask Mr. Acciaca, if he doesn't mind, because I announced I was going to adjourn here at 6 o'clock. It lacks 2 minutes of being at that time. The members of this committee have to get to a plane.

We can either have him down to Washington, or he can prepare his statement and file it for the record. I will be happy to have it that way, for insertion in the record if you have it prepared.

Mr. WALTER. Let him have a couple of minutes.

Mr. ACCIACCA. Mr. Chairman, I am sorry that you put me on the stand at this time.

Mr. WOOD. All right, go ahead, but we will have to quit by 6 o'clock.

Mr. ACCIACCA. I can't do it by 6 o'clock, sir.

Mr. WOOD. How long would you want?

Mr. ACCIACCA. I would like to have 10 or 12 minutes, sir. I heard one of you gentlemen say: "We will stay here until 12 o'clock if people will answer questions."

Mr. WOOD. But yesterday we didn't have plane reservations.

Mr. ACCIACCA. Look, I am in bad light as an individual, and I think I am just as good a loyal American as the 150,000,000 Americans in this country, and I am sorry if you have to miss your plane, sir. I want to prove that point.

Mr. WOOD. There isn't any question about that, sir.

Mr. ACCIACCA. It's been in the paper that way, sir. I don't want to argue with you people. I don't want to be placed in the position of being hostile or anything else. I want to have my opportunity to put my points across.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I might suggest if the chairman is willing to appoint a subcommittee, I would be very happy to stay and listen to the testimony. I have no plane to catch. I will stay and in that way his statement may be made.

Mr. WOOD. You can put it in the record now, just as soon as I make a little announcement.

Mr. WALTER. I think you are in error when you feel that you are in a bad light. The fact of the matter is, having seen what the Communist Party means to the American workers and having left it, my mind, at least, stamps you as being a very fine citizen.

Mr. ACCIACCA. That is in your mind, sir, but I want to clear up 150,000,000 minds in this country.

Mr. WALTER. Well, I think the vast majority of the people feel the same way.

Mr. ACCLACCA. If you please, Mr. Chairman, I want to clear that point up. Just yesterday evening when I went home, and for my money, I've got a very good wife and a very good family. When I went home last night my wife told me that she couldn't get into a club because of me. I want to get that cleared up.

Mr. WOOD. You have a right to clear it up, and I hope, sir, you can, and I will be glad if you can do it.

I have a telegram here from Mr. William R. Hood, recording secretary of the Ford Local No. 600, that he be permitted to appear before this committee to answer some testimony that had been given with reference to his connection, his prior connection with the Communist Party, and in keeping with the uniform policy of this committee, he will be given that opportunity in the very near future.

In the meantime, all witnesses who had been subpoenaed to appear here before this committee during this week, are directed that the subpoenas are hereby continued effective until March 26, at which time you will be given official notification as to whether the committee will be back here, or whether you will be required to come to Washington. That includes all witnesses who are now subpoenaed here before this committee.

While the committee recognizes that as no doubt appears obvious to all who have heard the hearings here, that this inquiry is not as complete as it should be, we do feel that the people of the Detroit area and of the Nation at large have now a fair picture of the overall aims and purposes of the Communist movement in this locality. Considerations of time and the legislative program of the Congress, make it imperative that the subcommittee return to Washington. It is contemplated that certain phases of the inquiry in which the committee has been engaged may be further pursued, either here or in Washington in the very near future.

With that, for the purpose of further listening to Mr. Acciaca, we will excuse the members of the staff and you gentlemen will stay and listen to it.

Mr. POTTER. I will be very happy to stay.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well.

Mr. WOOD. And the reporter will take down what you have to say, Mr. Acciaca.

(Whereupon, Messrs. Wood and Walter left the hearing room, leaving Messrs. Jackson and Potter to hear the remaining testimony.)

Mr. ACCIACCA. First, may I thank Mr. Jackson of California for making it possible for me to continue on here and get this cleared up.

Mr. JACKSON. You are welcome.

Mr. ACCIACCA. Yesterday, gentlemen, as your names were attacked, I saw you were rather disturbed, as far as I am concerned, rightfully so.

My name has been smeared, gentlemen, and again I appreciate the opportunity of getting it cleared up, because as far as I am concerned, I have a very good family, some very good relatives, and the very best of friends. I own my own home in Royal Oak and have lived there for approximately 35 years with the best of relatives, with the best of neighbors.

I consider myself as good a loyal American, outside of the mistake I have made in '43 and '44, as anybody in this country. During the last war—and preparations are being made right now—I had contributed and solicited blood for our boys in the Armed Forces, and I am talking about good American boys in the Armed Forces. Every dollar that we have to spare goes into bonds, United States bonds.

To prove my point that I have been against the Communist Party, I have here a couple of copies of the Sunday Worker, known as the Michigan Edition of the Worker that you gentlemen can have. You will see on the back here where they have been attacking me.

(Documents were handed to the Congressmen.)

I noticed in the Detroit News where my name was mentioned as a member of the Frederick Douglas Club and the Fourteenth Congressional Club. I would like to have that cleared up, gentlemen, that I know nothing at all of either one of these clubs, nor have I ever been there or participated with them. You gentlemen can have this if you wish.

Mr. POTTER. What is that?

Mr. ACCIACCA. That was where Mrs. Baldwin mentioned my name as being tied in with the Frederick Douglas Club. I know nothing of it.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Acciacca, may I ask you to what club of the Communist Party you were first assigned when you joined in 1943 or early 1944?

Mr. ACCIACCA. That was the pressed steel division, which at that time was known as pressed steel.

Mr. APPELL. And as I understood your testimony, you stayed in the pressed steel unit?

Mr. ACCIACCA. That is all I have ever been.

Mr. APPELL. What happened during the days of the Communist Political Association?

Mr. ACCIACCA. I think it was pointed out here earlier today that the Communist Political Association, if I remember correctly, they had something like that in '42 and it was only for a short while.

Mr. APPELL. But the Communist Political Association was created in '44 and discontinued in '45. Now, the investigation shows that during that period of time, the factory units were dissolved and the members of the Communist Party were placed into neighborhood groups. Did that happen to you?

Mr. ACCIACCA. Gosh, I don't remember, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Well, sir, did you always meet with the same group of individuals?

Mr. ACCIACCA. The same group of individuals from our—

Mr. APPELL. At no time were there new individuals brought in?

Mr. ACCIACCA. Outside of our own unit?

Mr. APPELL. Yes.

Mr. ACCIACCA. Not that I can remember, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Can you state that during the Communist Political Association days you were not transferred from the pressed-steel unit to another unit of the Communist Party?

Mr. ACCIACCA. Not that I remember. It might have happened. I am not saying it didn't.

Mr. APPELL. I mean you just made a statement that the testimony of Mrs. Baldwin was not true.

Mr. ACCIACCA. As far as those clubs are concerned, I know nothing of them.

Mr. APPELL. Our records show—not Mrs. Baldwin's testimony—you were transferred during the Communist Political Association days to the Fred Douglass Club.

Mr. ACCIACCA. If they took a card and moved it over there, I don't know anything about it.

Mr. APPELL. Mrs. Baldwin was testifying according to the records of the organization of which she was organization secretary, and I think she made that distinction, sir.

Mr. ACCIACCA. Pardon me just a minute. May I have that clipping back, please?

Mr. JACKSON. I would suggest that in view of the time if you will continue on, Mr. Acciacca, we will finish this up.

Mr. ACCIACCA. Yesterday, gentlemen, I noticed that you people placed considerable faith in an individual whom, I am sure in your honest opinion, was doing the right thing. I don't think any of you knew this individual any too long, because if you knew him as long as I do, I am sure that things would look a lot different to you. You placed considerable faith—

Mr. POTTER. Are you speaking about Mr. Romano?

Mr. ACCIACCA. About Mr. Romano. I would like to explain first the function of this individual, and I am prepared after I do that, to give you documentary proof that he had not cleansed all his sins, as he said, since 1946.

Mr. APPELL. Now, Mr. Acciacca, may I interrupt there please, sir.

As I recall, Mr. Romano, in talking about your membership in the Communist Party, stated that to his knowledge you had broken with the Communist Party in late 1946 or early 1947, and the only statement that he made with respect to you was that you were, in recent times, closely associated with elements considered to be the left wing. The committee had information that you had broken, and you were subpoenaed primarily because of this article which appeared in the February 23 issue of Ford Facts, which we knew you did not write.

Mr. ACCIACCA. You knew it? Well, then, why did you subpoena me?

Mr. APPELL. In order for you to help your country to expose the members of the Communist Party that you knew.

Mr. POTTER. It might be well to make this statement: We realize that there are many factions within labor organizations. We know that there are great political factions, and that possibly witnesses, in testifying, have done everything possible to play up the best interests of the faction in which they are most interested.

But it is not the interest of the committee to do anything to interfere with interlabor politics, and we want that perfectly well understood. Our only interest is to endeavor to find out the extent and

the activity of the Communist influence within the Detroit area, and that is our sole purpose. We are not interested in getting into a fight between various factions of labor organizations.

Mr. ACCIACCA. Well, Mr. Potter, I can understand that. I am sure that you are not interested, nor do I want to take your time to explain to you the differences within our organization. I don't intend to do that.

I said that I have documentary proof that since 1946, Mr. Romano is not the saint that he professed to be here, and I am sure if you will bear with me—

Mr. POTTER. Would you make that document available to our staff?

Mr. ACCIACCA. I would like to read it into the record, if you please, sir. But before I get to that, I think it is necessary, if you will permit me, to explain, and I am leading up to this documentary proof, how this gentleman switches from time to time—

Mr. APPELL. Is this with respect to your time of membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. ACCIACCA. Part of it, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. I should like to have you relate any testimony regarding—or any of your statements regarding the testimony to things which personally concern you. Then, if you wish, you may file the statement because we have consented to remain here overtime in order that you might have a few minutes to make a statement. Evidently it is a long one. I don't want to unduly hurry you, but in 5 or 6 minutes I am going to have to adjourn this meeting, and I wish that you would relate any testimony you have with respect to Mr. Romano to your own association and your own personal knowledge.

Mr. POTTER. If you have any other material, the committee would be very happy to receive it.

Mr. ACCIACCA. Well, all that I have to say, in my opinion, concerns me and the party, too.

If I can continue, gentlemen: Mr. Lee Romano, to the best of my knowledge, hired in the Ford Motor Co. in 1936. Mind you, I am telling you this because I think it has some bearing on communism. I want to give you this documentary proof that he isn't the ideal American, as far as I am concerned, today. I want to prove that point to you gentlemen.

Mr. Romano hired in the Ford Motor Co., to the best of my knowledge, in 1936 just prior to our union. In early 1941 he was a foreman in the pressed steel building.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I don't see where this has any relation to Mr. Romano's membership in the Communist Party or his actions as a member of the Communist Party. Mr. Romano in his testimony, limited himself to associations and to members of the Communist Party during the time he was in the party.

Mr. ACCIACCA. I believe your name is Mr. Appell; is that right, sir?

Mr. APPELL. That is right.

Mr. ACCIACCA. Mr. Appell, you know that I am limited with time, and I don't like to take issue with you, sir—

Mr. JACKSON. I have asked the witness to relate his testimony to his personal association with Mr. Romano, during the period of time which has to do with his membership in the Communist Party. If there is anything that Mr. Romano has said which is untrue with respect to your relationship with the Communist Party, that is the

purpose of this statement. It is to enable you to correct any discrepancies, any errors in Mr. Romano's testimony.

Now, obviously, we cannot take the time of the committee at this late hour to go back to relate the things which were not the subject of his testimony as it affects you, Mr. Acciacca.

Mr. ACCIACCA. O. K., gentlemen. You want me to stick to the subject that has to do strictly with communism?

Mr. JACKSON. During the period of time that you were a member.

Mr. ACCIACCA. I think this committee is aware of the fact that sometime in 1950, our local president, who at that time and still is Carl Stellato, preferred charges against five individuals whom you all know about for subservience to the Communist Party. I believe that was the specific charge. This was in 1950. Mind you, Romano stated here yesterday that he had cleared himself of the Communist Party and was out to do a job on them to the best of his knowledge, since 1946. In 1950, when Carl Stellato preferred those charges, I know for a fact that he called on many people to give him some aid and one to be called on was Lee Romano. He called him into his office and asked Lee Romano—

Mr. APPELL. Were you present, sir?

Mr. ACCIACCA. Pardon, sir?

Mr. APPELL. Were you present?

Mr. ACCIACCA. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. At this conference?

Mr. ACCIACCA. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. All right.

Mr. ACCIACCA. He asked Lee Romano if he would not take the stand and testify in his behalf or on the grounds that these people were subservient to the Communist Party. You have heard Romano make statements here—this is now 1952—that he knew those five people at that time. But in 1950, he would not make those charges against these five people.

Mr. APPELL. In the light of the present day, he has come forward to help his Government who has asked him to do so, while the witness that was used in that trial has refused to answer on the grounds of self-incrimination, when his Government has asked him to do it.

Mr. ACCIACCA. That may be true, sir, but did he not state that he has cleared himself of the party since 1946? All right, let's forgive him prior to 1946. Let's forgive him. I am not a hard guy.

Mr. APPELL. Did you testify in that trial, sir?

Mr. ACCIACCA. I wasn't called upon and I wouldn't have the knowledge, sir.

I want to submit as evidence to you gentlemen, inasmuch as you don't think I have time to read it, a resolution that condemns the House Un-American Activities Committee. This resolution carries the date of July 5, 1949, and this is since 1946, Mr. Appell.

Mr. APPELL. Your article, sir, is dated February 23, 1952.

Mr. ACCIACCA. Is he going to keep interrupting me? I can't get through.

Mr. JACKSON. The document will be received by the committee for consideration and possible inclusion in the report.

Mr. ACCIACCA. This resolution carries the name, Mr. Chairman, of Mr. Lee Romano.

I have two letters here, gentlemen, that I wish I had the opportunity of reading into the record because, believe me, not only you would be interested in these letters, but I am very sure that the 150 million Americans in this country would be interested in them. Possibly if you take copies of these two letters and you go through them, I will be only too glad if you want me to go through them with you and maybe we can have some release through the press or other means of getting it to the public.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Acciacea, a couple of minutes more.

Mr. ACCIACCA. Yes, sir. I want to submit to you an issue of Ford Facts dated December 31, 1949. I don't think you have a copy of that. This shows where the executive board endorsed the support of Crockett. I don't think have to introduce Mr. Crockett to you. I am pretty sure you know him. Mr. Romano was a member of the executive board in 1949.

Mr. JACKSON. It will be received by the committee.

Mr. ACCIACCA. A copy of the resolution that I just handed you is also on page 9 of Ford Facts, gentlemen.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question—

Mr. ACCIACCA. I will conclude with this last statement, gentlemen:

To me, this fight against communism is very serious. This Communist aggression, the way I see it, must be stopped. We have right at this very moment, many of our dear ones that are out there in the fronts of Korea making the supreme sacrifice. I noticed in today's paper—I didn't know this before—that even the chairman of your committee is the grandfather of a fatherless child, because of communism in Korea. He lost his life over there. To me it is very serious, fellows, and I do believe that we, the American people, should take some definite action and not listen to too much gossip, because as far as I am concerned, actions speak louder than words.

I want to close with this question, gentlemen, not only to satisfy myself; not only to satisfy the citizens of Detroit; not only to satisfy the entire membership in our UAW; but I am sure that the overwhelming majority of 150 million Americans want to know why we, at this stage of the game, especially our lawmakers, you gentlemen, don't start to put some mechanics into effect in outlawing the Communist Party.

Mr. POTTER. I agree with you 100 percent.

Mr. ACCIACCA. What is being done in Washington? What can we do to help inasmuch as it is a matter of life and death to the American people?

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you very much, Mr. Acciacea.

Mr. ACCIACCA. Could I have my question answered, sir? What is being done about outlawing the Communist Party?

Mr. JACKSON. I think there are a number of resolutions presently in both of the Houses of Congress, none of which have been acted upon by any of the committees. I can only join with my colleague, as far as the two of us are concerned, in saying that we are in agreement.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. POTTER. I would like to say this before you go, Mr. Acciacea: That I do appreciate, and I am sure of the fact that it has taken a good deal of intestinal fortitude for you to make this statement. We are not, as I said before, interested in interlabor politics, and as far as

these statements concerning Mr. Romano are concerned, we are very happy to receive them and, of course, if Mr. Romano seeks to reply, he will have that opportunity to answer them.

Mr. ACCIACCA. I want him to have.

Mr. PORTER. But I do hope that from your testimony here today, there will be no reprisals made against either you or your family. You have done yourself proud and the country a service by appearing here and cooperating with the committee.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Appell, do you have one final question?

Mr. APPELL. Yes.

Mr. Acciacca, these documents that you submitted to the committee, how did they come into your possession, sir?

Mr. ACCIACCA. I got them from my local union, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Are they a matter of official record within your local union, for accuracy of the articles?

Mr. ACCIACCA. That is right, sir. Those are official documents from my local union.

Mr. APPELL. Your union will certify as to the truthfulness of these documents?

Mr. ACCIACCA. That is right, sir. I will stand behind them.

Mr. APPELL. Thank you.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you very much, Mr. Acciacca.

Mr. ACCIACCA. Thank you, gentlemen.

Mr. JACKSON. I think, in conclusion, that I want to emphasize very strongly what the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. Potter, has said: That this committee and no member of it is interested in any management-labor disputes or in any internal political disputes within any union. It has the function of investigating Communist infiltration. That is what it will continue to do.

The meeting is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 6:30 p. m., the committee was adjourned.)

COMMUNISM IN THE DETROIT AREA—PART 2

TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 1952

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:40 a. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Francis E. Walter, presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter, Bernard W. Kearney, and Donald L. Jackson.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; Donald T. Appell, investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WALTER. The committee will come to order.

The chairman of the committee has appointed a subcommittee consisting of Messrs. Frazier, Kearney, Jackson, and Walter, to conduct this hearing. A majority of that subcommittee is present.

Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to call Mr. Grossman, please; Mr. Saul Grossman.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Grossman, will you raise your right hand?

Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GROSSMAN. I do.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Grossman, are you represented by counsel?

TESTIMONY OF SAUL GROSSMAN, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, DAVID REIN

Mr. GROSSMAN. Yes, I am.

Mr. WALTER. Will the counsel please state his name and address for the record?

Mr. REIN. David Rein, R-e-i-n, 711 Fourteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name, please, sir?

Mr. GROSSMAN. My name is Saul Grossman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Grossman, you have been subpoenaed here in your official capacity as executive secretary of the Michigan Chapter of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, to produce certain records called for in the subpoena duces tecum.

I would like at this point to offer in evidence the subpoena, bearing date of March 5, 1952, subpoenaing Saul Grossman, executive secretary

of the Michigan Chapter of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, which was served on March 5, 1952, by Mr. W. L. Jones, investigator of the Committee on Un-American Activities, and I ask that it be marked "Exhibit No. 1"

Mr. WALTER. Without objection, it will be so marked and received.

(The subpoena referred to was marked "Grossman Exhibit No. 1" and made a part of the record.)

Mr. TAVENNER. That is Grossman exhibit No. 1.

That subpoena was for production of the records at the hearing then being conducted in Detroit.

I desire also to introduce in evidence copy of a telegram from the chairman to Mr. Ernest Goodman. But before that I desire to refer to a direction given by the chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities during the last day of the hearings in Detroit, March 12, 1952, in the following language:

In the meantime all witnesses that had been subpoenaed to appear here before this committee during this week are directed that the subpoenas are hereby continued effective until March 26, at which time you will be given official notification as to whether the committee will be back here or whether you will be required to come to Washington. That includes all witnesses that are now subpoenaed here before this committee.

And now I would like to introduce in evidence and have marked as Grossman exhibit No. 2, a telegram from the chairman of this committee, bearing date March 21, as follows:

Mr. ERNEST GOODMAN,

Attorney at law, Cadillac Tower Building, Detroit, Mich.:

Appearance before Committee on Un-American Activities of your clients Harold Franklin and Saul Grossman is hereby postponed from March 26, 1952, to Tuesday April 29, 1952, 226 House Office Building, Washington, D. C., 10:30 a. m. Please confirm by collect return wire.

Then this morning on your arrival here, Mr. Grossman, you were served with a subpoena requiring the production of the same records and documents before the committee here in Washington. Is that correct?

Mr. GROSSMAN. I was served with a subpoena this morning as I was in the anteroom of this committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer in evidence the subpoena referred to, which was served by Mr. Donald T. Appell, investigator of this committee, and ask that it be marked "Grossman Exhibit No. 3."

Mr. WALTER. The documents referred to may be so marked and made of record.

(The documents referred to were marked "Grossman Exhibits Nos. 2 and 3," and made a part of the record.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, Mr. Grossman, have you with you the records and documents described in the subpoena duces tecum?

Mr. GROSSMAN. No; I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why haven't you produced them in accordance with the demands of the subpoena?

Mr. GROSSMAN. I decline to answer that question, invoking my privileges under the fifth amendment against self-incrimination.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are the executive secretary of the Michigan chapter of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, are you not?

Mr. GROSSMAN. I know of no such organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then if you know of no such organization, how could production of the records of such an organization or your testifying regarding it in any way incriminate you?

(Mr. Grossman confers with his counsel.)

Mr. GROSSMAN. I will stick to my previous answer to that question.

Mr. WALTER. I did not hear that last statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say you are not acquainted with any organization known as the Michigan Chapter of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born?

Mr. GROSSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. WALTER. Do you know whether or not there is such an organization?

Mr. GROSSMAN. To my knowledge there is not.

Mr. WALTER. There is not?

Mr. GROSSMAN. That is correct.

Mr. WALTER. Then as I understand the position you take, it is that you are afraid that you might incriminate yourself by answering the question whether or not you brought records of a nonexistent organization?

Mr. GROSSMAN. I stick to my previous answer, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you the executive secretary of the Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born?

Mr. GROSSMAN. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with an organization known as the Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born?

Mr. GROSSMAN. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether the Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is a part of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born?¹

Mr. GROSSMAN. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I request that the witness be requested to stand aside for the present, so that we may go ahead with another witness. We will recall him.

Mr. WALTER. Very well.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Harold Franklin.

Mr. WALTER. Will you stand up, please, and raise your right hand?

Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I do.

¹ See pp. 3206-3211 photographic reproduction of leaflet, Call to Mass Meeting and Conference, Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in cooperation with the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, October 27, 1951. This document has been inserted in the record by order of the chairman for the purpose of showing the relationship of the Michigan Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born to the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

Call MASS MEETING and CONFERENCE • Saturday, October 27, 1951

• 1:00 to 6:00 P.M.

• FORD LOCAL 600 AUDITORIUM

10550 Dix Road, Dearborn, Michigan

"Only by zealously guarding the rights of the most humble, the mostorthodox and the most despised among us can freedom flourish and endure in our land."

U.S. SUPREME COURT JUSTICE FRANK MURPHY
Concurring opinion, Harry Bridges case.

MICH. COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN AND DETROIT CHAPTER, NAT'L WOMEN'S APPEAL FOR THE RIGHTS OF FOREIGN BORN AMERICANS

1442 Gratiot Street, Detroit 26, Michigan. Woodward 1-6278

WHAT IS THE MICHIGAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN?

It is an unaffiliated, non-partisan body cooperating with other organizations and individuals.

WHAT IS ITS PROGRAM?

To make real for the foreign born the American democratic concept of equality regardless of race, color, nationality, creed, or place of birth . . . To avert discrimination against foreign-born citizens and non-citizens due to their nationality, their political or religious beliefs, or their lack of citizenship . . . To avert damage to American family life through the threat of deportation . . . To encourage and facilitate the naturalization of non-citizens . . . To promote better relations and understanding among the foreign born and those who are native to this country.

HOW DOES THE COMMITTEE WORK?

By organizing public support for its objectives through mass meetings and public affairs, through delegations to officials, through the publication and distribution of literature . . . By providing speakers and educational material . . . By providing legal aid through a panel of attorneys.

HOW IS IT FINANCED?

By means of gifts, contributions and monthly pledges from trade unions, individuals, and organizations; by public meetings and affairs; by contributions from defense committees organized around individual victims.

In cooperation with the

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

Honorary Co-Chairmen:

DR. THOMAS MANN * ST. REV. ARTHUR W. MCULTON

Co-Chairmen:

REV. JOHN W. DARR, JR. * GEORGE B. MURPHY, JR.

Executive Secretary: ABNER GREEN

Sponsors (Partial List): Bishop Cameron C. Allyne . . . Mrs.
Elmer Benson . . . Dr. Algeron D. Black . . . Dr. Dorothy
Brewster . . . Rabbi Henry Cohen . . . Dr. Abraham Cracoebe
. . . Clemens J. Frouce . . . Dr. Alice Hamilton . . . Daniel
Hammett . . . Rev. Prof. Fleming Jones, Sr. . . . Hon. Robert
W. Kenny . . . Prof. Paul H. Lauter . . . Prof. Robert Morris
Lowell . . . Rev. Sidney Lowell . . . Prof. Kiriley F. Mather . .
Bishop Walter Mitchell . . . Prof. Constantine Panayotis . .
Dr. Julian Park . . . Bishop Edward L. Parsons . . . Villjaleur
Stefanson . . . Fred W. Stever.

The knock at the door — the cruel breaking-up of families — the terrorism — NOT IN SOME FAR-AWAY "TOTALITARIAN" COUNTRY — but here, in Michigan, in THE UNITED STATES.

That knock has been heard in hundreds of homes of foreign born Americans. Thousands of non-citizens, including Negroes born outside the U. S., are threatened with deportation after living in the United States from 25 to 50 years. As in the slave markets of the Old South, mothers will be torn from their American born children, families broken apart and scattered over the face of the earth. Some face exile to fascist countries where death or imprisonment await them.

Other thousands are being investigated and hounded with the objective of taking away their citizenship.

Thousands are prevented from becoming citizens because they belonged to or took part in the activities of progressive organizations.

Professional labor spies, exposed by the LaFollette Committee in 1937, have been hired by the Immigration Department, at \$25 a day, as informers against militant trade unionists.

This is no longer a quiet raid on a few homes. Senator McCarran wants to deport 3 to 5 million foreign born he calls "rabble."

This persecution of citizens and non-citizens, whose crime was that they were not born in America, threatens the freedoms and liberties of all Americans. The precious heritage of the Bill of Rights, with its guarantees of free speech and the right to bail for all, is being undermined by reactionary legislation like the Smith and McCarran Acts, deportation proceedings, illegal arrests, and the denial of bail.

Why are the foreign born under this sharp attack today?

They have been selected for special persecution because of the vital role they play in the democratic life of our country. They helped

build this country with their sweat and blood, with their lives. They comprise a large section of the nation's working force in basic industry — in coal, auto, steel and rubber. Having come here seeking democracy, they have fought to strengthen our democracy. They are aware of the meaning of oppression and are to be found in the ranks of labor and progressive movement in our country.

The drive against the foreign born is an attempt to terrorize them, to separate them from other sections of the American people, to deprive the American people of these great allies in the fight for peace and democracy, and to make it easier to take away the rights of the native born.

More than forty Michigan residents have been arrested and face deportation — ten are threatened with loss of citizenship.

Seven are women, mothers and grandmothers, who face exile from their families, homes and adopted country. One is a mother of seven, with four grandchildren. Most of the men are trade unionists, members of the AFL and CIO. One has a son fighting in Korea.

Ask yourself: If these men and women, who have devoted themselves to improving economic conditions, fighting segregation and discrimination, and speaking up for peace — If they can be deprived of their rights under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights — If they can be deported and put in concentration camps for what they think and believe — then CAN YOU, YOUR FRIENDS, YOUR FAMILY, FEEL SECURE?

TODAY IT IS THE FOREIGN BORN — TOMORROW IT MAY BE YOU — anyone who dares speak out for labor's rights, for the rights of the Negro people, for peace.

To this state-wide Mass Meeting and Conference we invite all organizations and individuals who wish to join in planning a program of action to meet these attacks on the rights of the American people.

— *Program* —

12:00 to 1:00 Registration

1:00 P. M. Opening Session

CAROL KING. America's outstanding authority and leading defender of the rights of the foreign born will deliver the keynote address.

3:00 to 5:00 Panel Discussions

The Right to Bail

Defense of Labor

**Defense of the
Victims**

Noted labor and civic leaders will lead the panel discussions.

**5:00 to 6:00 Reports from the
Panels and
Summary**

**Local Conference Sponsors
(Partial List)**

*W. H. Allmendinger, Educator, Royal Oak;
Rev. Paul J. Allured, Lansing; Paul Boatin,
President Motor Bldg., Local 600; Rev. Chas.
A. Hill, Chairman Michigan Peace Com-
mittee; Dorothy Knight, Local 51; William
McKie, Local 600; Arthur C. McPhail, Exec.
Soc'y CRC; Dr. Watson Nicholson, Educator
and Author, South Haven; John Orr, Pres-
ident Tool and Die Unit, Local 600; Harold
Robertson, Inkster Non-Partisan League,
PAC; Maurice Sugar, Attorney. (Organiza-
tions listed for identification only).*

CREDENTIAL BLANK

MICHIGAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN WORK
1442 GRISWOLD STREET, DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN

The following people will represent our organization at the Mass Meeting and Conference. (Representatives may be sent by variously selected organizations, churches, rank and file committee, and other organizations of the people).

NAME
NAME

Enclosed is \$..... for registration fees (\$1.00 per person).

Enclosed is \$..... as a contribution to continue the important work of the Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Work and to help defray the expenses of the Conference.

NAME OF ORGANIZATION _____

ADDRESS _____

WE INVITE INDIVIDUALS TO ATTEND THE MASS MEETING AND CONFERENCE.

**TESTIMONY OF HAROLD FRANKLIN, ACCCOMPANIED BY HIS
COUNSEL, JOSEPH FORER**

Mr. WALTER. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself?

Mr. FORER. Joseph Forer, 711 Fourteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Harold Franklin.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Franklin?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I was born in Edwards, S. Dak., October 11, 1903.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. FRANKLIN. In the city of Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Detroit?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Since about the middle of 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. And prior to 1945, where did you reside?

Mr. FRANKLIN. How much prior to 1945?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, say, for a period of 10 years.

Mr. FRANKLIN. In the city of Ann Arbor.

Mr. TAVENNER. For the entire period of 10 years?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long had you lived in Ann Arbor?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, I can tell you I came to Ann Arbor in February of 1922, on the 22d, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please outline briefly your educational background?

Mr. FRANKLIN. As near as I can remember, I first went to grade school in Davis, S. Dak. From there the family moved to Chicago, where I attended grade school and high school. And during the time when I was going to high school, I was taught that if I worked hard and studied I could possibly be the President of the United States, but I found that when it came time to get a job in high school vacation I had to go to work in the stockyards handling guts while the white boys I went to school with got jobs I was going to high school for.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. Did you have any further educational training?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I studied in night school, studied in correspondence school.

Mr. TAVENNER. How have you been employed since you have been in Detroit?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I worked in a foundry.

Mr. TAVENNER. What particular foundry was it in which you worked?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I worked in Ford's foundry in the Rouge plant, the production foundry.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you begin working there?

Mr. FRANKLIN. In 1936.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you have worked there continuously to the present time?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the period of time when you were employed in the Ford foundry in 1936, to the present time, have you been a candidate for office in local union 600 of the UAW?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I ran for more than one position.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the positions that you ran for, and in which were you successful?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I ran for president. I ran for vice president. I ran for bargaining committee. I ran for district committeeman. I ran for recording secretary. I was successful in the vice presidential election and the recording secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the dates, please, when you were elected to these respective offices?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I can give you the approximate date.

Mr. TAVENNER. That will be satisfactory.

Mr. FRANKLIN. I believe I was elected recording secretary of the unit in 1942, I believe, and I served in that capacity.

Mr. TAVENNER. By the unit, what do you mean?

Mr. FRANKLIN. The Rouge plant at that time was divided into 18 groups, and each group had a name, and each group had a degree of autonomy. That is to say, you would elect your own officers, and up to a certain extent or within certain bounds those officers conducted the business of that particular unit.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what was the name of the particular unit to which you were elected recording secretary?

Mr. FRANKLIN. One of them was the jobbing foundry—

Mr. TAVENNER. Jobbing?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Jobbing, J-o-b-b-i-n-g. And also in the jobbing foundry, I was elected unit vice president.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, over what period of time were you the recording secretary in that unit, beginning with 1942?

Mr. FRANKLIN. From 1942, I believe, up until 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. And then during what period of time were you elected the vice president of that union?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I was vice president 1 year, I believe from 1948 to 1949, if my memory serves me correctly.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, have you held any other positions in that local?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I am at present the unit recording secretary of the Dearborn Iron Foundry.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how long have you held that position?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Since around the middle of last year, when we had installation of officers.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the course of the hearings in Detroit, considerable evidence was heard by the committee regarding the so-called progressive slate within your union.

Was your election the result of the promotion of your interest by the progressive slate?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Will you repeat that question again, please? I am not sure I understood.

(The pending question was read by the reporter.)

Mr. FRANKLIN. As I understand that question, it wasn't my interest. Because we were elected as servants of the rank and file. So that my interests weren't primarily concerned. It was the wish of the majority of the people that elected me. But certainly not my interest, because there was no pay attached to any of the jobs that I held.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is not quite a reply to my question.

The question was whether or not your interests were promoted. Or your candidacy; let's put it that way.

Was that promoted by the progressive slate organization within your unit?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I gather that you are asking me whether or not I ran on a progressive ticket?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, that is one way of explaining it.

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was your candidacy approved by the Communist Party?

Mr. FRANKLIN. That question I will have to refuse to answer under the rights guaranteed me by the Constitution, because I do not want to testify against myself. Under the fifth amendment, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any instance of a candidate being supported by the progressive slate who was opposed to the Communist Party actively and openly?

Mr. FRANKLIN. That question I will have to refuse to answer, on the grounds that I gave before.

Mr. WALTER. You do not have to refuse to answer it. Do you refuse to answer it for those reasons?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I do, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to an article in the Detroit Times of March 5, 1952, you were quoted as having made a statement that you had never seen Mrs. Baldwin, who is Mrs. Berenice Baldwin, before in your life. Do you recall having made that statement? I hand you the article, to refresh your recollection.

Mr. FRANKLIN. I don't recall this.

Mr. TAVENNER. You do not recall having made the statement referred to in the press? Well, had you known Berenice Baldwin before March 5, 1952?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer that question on the same ground that I used before.

Mr. TAVENNER. On February 29, 1952, Mrs. Baldwin appeared before this committee in Detroit. She testified as follows:

Harold Franklin is a worker at Ford's and attended the party school or classes, I should say, taught by Hy Gordon, a person sent here from the national office for educational purposes.

Did you attend classes conducted by Hy Gordon?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that I gave before.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the course of the testimony of Mrs. Baldwin, she identified other persons who attended the school, as follows:

Carnella, C-a-r-n-e-l-l-a Foreman, Peggy Wellman, Saul Wellman, Frank Martin, Aldo, A-l-d-o, Sandretto, S-a-n-d-r-e-t-t-o, Mildred Pollack, Hope Smith, Fred Jones, Esther Siegel, S-i-e-g-e-l, Leonard Lauderdale.

Are you acquainted with any of those persons?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer that question for the same reason given before.

Mr. TAVENNER. It has come to the attention of the committee that several articles were published by the Michigan Worker, over your name, as the writer.

Will you tell the committee the circumstances under which you furnished material or writings for the Michigan Worker?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer the question for the same reason given.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of a page from the Michigan Worker, under date of July 24, 1949, and ask you whether or not you made that article as a contribution to that paper.

Mr. FRANKLIN. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer the question for the same reason given.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Michigan Worker of May 1, 1949, carries a statement attacking the North Atlantic Pact. Your name appears as one of the signers. Will you tell the committee the circumstances under which your name was obtained in connection with that statement?

Mr. FRANKLIN. May I see the statement, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, I do not have it available.

Mr. FRANKLIN. I don't recall the statement that you have reference to.

Mr. TAVENNER. You do not recall having made such a statement?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a meeting of the Communist Party held on July 23, 1949, at 5642 Michigan Avenue, where John Gates spoke or made a report?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer the question for the reason given before.

Mr. BEALE. Raise your voice. We can't hear you.

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer the question for the same reason given before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with John Gates?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I will have to refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a testimonial dinner honoring the 12 Communist Party leaders who were prosecuted, the meeting having been held on August 27, 1949, at 2705 Joy Road, Detroit?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a meeting of the Dearborn section of the Communist Party of Michigan held at 2705 Joy Road on June 7, 1950?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer that question, for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you act as chairman of the meeting of the Communist Political Association held on June 15, 1950, in Unity Hall, State and Huron streets, Detroit?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer that question, for the same reason given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Ford section of the Communist Party of Michigan in 1948?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason given.

Mr. KEARNEY. If you were not a member of that section, would you so state?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer the question for the same reasons given. I don't have to give testimony against myself.

Mr. KEARNEY. I cannot hear you. Can you raise your voice, please?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I will, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Franklin, according to the records of the committee, in 1945 you were educational and literature director of the foundry unit of the Communist Party. Is this information correct?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer the question, Mr. Chairman, for the same reason given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you state whether or not Nelson Davis was publicity director of the foundry unit of the Communist Party?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer that question, Mr. Chairman, for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it true that Steve Dimitro was secretary of the foundry unit of the Communist Party at any time that you were an officer in your union?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer the question for the same reasons given.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee is in possession of information indicating that William H., usually referred to as "Bill" Johnson, was chairman of the foundry unit of the Communist Party at the time that you were educational and literature director. Was William H. Johnson at any time chairman of the foundry unit of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer the question, for the same reason given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Walter Dorosh, D-o-r-o-s-h, press director of the entire Ford section of the Communist Party?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Mr. Chairman, I will have to—I refuse that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was James Simmons at this time chairman of the Ford section of the Communist Party?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Floyd W. Berry?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer that question, Mr. Chairman, for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Lorenzo Bozeman was recruited into the Communist Party in 1948?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Leo Krugh, K-r-u-g-h, chairman of the Dearborn section of the Communist Party?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. I should specify the dates. I am referring to 1945 and 1946. Does that change your statement?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not Edmond Martin was press director of the motor section of the Communist Party?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Don Radokavie was chairman of the press unit of the Ford section of the Communist Party?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Tessie Suttles at any time act as press director of the foundry unit of the Communist Party?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Vernia L. Wilson, at any time, act as assistant press director of the motor unit of the Communist Party?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you were a candidate for the various offices in your local union, were you required to state at any time whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I did sign a card.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of the card you signed?

Mr. FRANKLIN. As near as I can recall, I stated on the card where I signed my name that I was not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you sign it?

Mr. FRANKLIN. That was in 1949 or 1950.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances under which you signed it?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No one could be an officer, so the president said, of the union, if he were a Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you speaking now of the Taft-Hartley affidavit?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. The constitution of your union provides that no member of the Communist Party may be an officer.

Did your signature on the card arise out of that provision of the constitution?

Mr. FRANKLIN. What I signed—where it stemmed from, I can only guess, but it seemed to me it was inter-union politics. There is always a fight going on in the union between the ins and the outs, and they came around to me, and I signed it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who came around to you?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I believe that it was the chairman of the unit at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his name?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Bill Johnson, if my memory serves me correctly.

Mr. KEARNEY. This was in 1949?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I am not certain of the date. It was 1949, or 1950. No, I am not sure—1949 or 1950. It was when I was elected secretary.

Mr. KEARNEY. Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1949 or 1950?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. KEARNEY. Even though you did state on your card you were not a member of the Communist Party; is that true?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. KEARNEY. You stated a minute ago that you signed a card stating that you were not a member of the Communist Party in 1949 or 1950.

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes; I made that statement.

Mr. KEARNEY. I asked you if you were a member of the Communist Party in 1949 and 1950, and you refused to answer.

Mr. FRANKLIN. I gave one answer.

Mr. KEARNEY. You gave several answers. Which is the true answer?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer that question, for the previous reasons given.

Mr. KEARNEY. When you signed your card for the union in 1949 or 1950, stating that you were not a member of the Communist Party, did you tell the truth when you signed that card at that time?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer that question, Mr. Chairman, for the same reasons.

Mr. WALTER. Your answer was not sworn to on the card, was it?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No, there was no oath taken, as I recall. The general assumption was that everyone was telling the truth.

Mr. KEARNEY. Well, in other words, your answer was due to expediency at that particular time?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Is that a question directed to me?

Mr. KEARNEY. I think it is.

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer that one for the same reasons given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was William H. Johnson, who at that time gave you the card to sign, known to you at that time to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer that question, for the same reasons given, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TAVENNER. And was the signing of this application made at the time you were running for office in your union?

Mr. FRANKLIN. As I recall, I was already functioning in the capacity that I was elected for.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, now, this was in 1949?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I said I wasn't sure of the date. It may have been 1950.

Mr. TAVENNER. What time in 1950?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I don't know. I would say in the summer time. That is as close as I can get to it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, was that card signed by you before you were elected to your present office as recording secretary, which I understood you to say you were elected to in 1951?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No, I was elected secretary in 1951, the last time.

Mr. TAVENNER. So you signed this card prior to—

Mr. WALTER. He said the last time. When was the first time you were elected secretary?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I believe I said 1942 was the first time I was elected secretary.

Mr. WALTER. And you held that position continuously from 1942?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No.

Mr. WALTER. During what year was there a break in your holding office?

Mr. FRANKLIN. As I remember, there was a break one year when I was ill and I didn't run. I think it was 1947. I held no position in 1947 from the date of the elections until the 12-month period was up, and there was another period when I held no office. I am not just certain of the dates, but I believe it was some time in May of 1949 up until 1950.

Mr. WALTER. So that with the exception of 1947 and 1949 you held office continuously from 1942 up to the present?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes; assuming that I was correct when I said 1942. It may have been early 1943 or late 1942, but somewhere around that time.

Mr. WALTER. So that at the time you signed this card in which you stated you were not a member of the Communist Party, you were holding an office in the union?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes. Now, whether or not I was secretary—Because I am not certain exactly whether or not I was secretary or functioning as a bargaining committee man. My memory just doesn't serve me.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. William H. Johnson was a man who obtained the signatures of all of the officers; was he not?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I don't know whether he got them all or not.

Mr. WALTER. He was the man who undertook to have officers sign this card stating that they were not Communists. Was that the Johnson that you declined to answer about as to whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FRANKLIN. William H. Johnson?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. FRANKLIN. That is the same Bill Johnson.

Mr. WALTER. So that if he was a Communist, we find the situation where a Communist was obtaining signatures to cards of officials; is that correct?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Now, to me that is a supposition, and I will have to refuse to answer that one, Mr. Chairman, for the same reason given.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position does William H. Johnson hold in the local union at this time?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the last position that he held, to your knowledge?

Mr. FRANKLIN. He was adviser to the local union president. Just what his official title was, I am not sure. That is the last position that I know that he held.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not he holds that position now?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. He did hold that position on March 12, the last day of the hearings conducted by this committee in Detroit, did he not?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I am not certain of the dates, because it didn't mean too much to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, you were subpoenaed to appear on that day, March 12, before this committee, were you not?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I have no recollection of that. I think the subpoena that was handed to me had a February date on it.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you were not notified to appear at a later date?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I got no further notice. That is why I wasn't there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, at the time you received your subpoena, was Bill Johnson, William H. Johnson, the executive assistant or adviser to the president of local 600?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I think he was then.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, you know that, don't you?

Mr. FRANKLIN. He was removed, according to the paper. And what date he was removed, I don't know. My work was in the shop, working with my hands, not over at the local union. And when I

finished the day's work, I was ready to go home and rest. I spent little time around the local union.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean since the hearings in Detroit? You were pretty active in the local affairs of your union prior to that time, weren't you?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Not very active. I work in the foundry. I don't walk around dressed up. I earn my money with my hands, and when the day is up I am tired.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, you were representing to the rank-and-file members of your union that you were not a member of the Communist Party in order to try to get elected to office, were you not? You were taking that much interest. Isn't that true?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you know now and you knew then that your representation was absolutely false?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons given.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WALTER. Any questions, Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Franklin, would you sign a statement under oath today, if required as a condition of employment, that you were not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I refuse to answer the question for the same reasons given.

Mr. JACKSON. Have you ever traveled outside the United States?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I have been in Windsor, Ontario.

Mr. JACKSON. You have not been abroad except to Canada?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No.

Mr. JACKSON. Have you ever made an application for a passport?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No.

Mr. WALTER. General Kearney, any questions?

Mr. KEARNEY. No questions.

Mr. WALTER. Anything further, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WALTER. The witness is excused.

Mr. FRANKLIN. Mr. Chairman, I have a prepared statement that I would like to read if you would like to listen to it.

Mr. WALTER. No; we do not have time. Leave it, and we will put it in the record.

Mr. WALTER. Who is your next witness, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to recall Mr. Grossman, Mr. Saul Grossman.

Mr. WALTER. The witness has been sworn.

The witness is represented by the same counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Mr. Saul Grossman?

**TESTIMONY OF SAUL GROSSMAN, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL,
DAVID REIN—Resumed**

Mr. GROSSMAN. Yes; I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are the same person who appeared a few moments ago as a witness before the committee and was excused temporarily?

Mr. GROSSMAN. More than a few moments, but I am the same person.

Mr. TAVENNER. Since you were excused temporarily from your position as a witness before the committee, there has been served on you a forthwith subpoena duces tecum, on you in your official capacity as executive secretary of the Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, to produce certain records before this committee.

I desire to offer in evidence the subpoena, which was served by Donald T. Appell, an investigator of this committee, and have it marked "Grossman exhibit No. 4."

Mr. WALTER. It will be so marked, and without objection it is received.

(The subpoena referred to was marked "Grossman exhibit No. 4," and made a part of the record.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to ask whether you have with you the records called for in the subpoena.

Mr. GROSSMAN. I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why do you not have them?

Mr. GROSSMAN. I decline to answer that question, on the grounds that my answer may incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have been subpoenaed in your official capacity to produce those records. You are the executive secretary of the Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, are you not?

Mr. GROSSMAN. I decline to answer that question, on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do I understand that you are refusing to produce any records of that office?

Mr. GROSSMAN. You do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is that?

Mr. GROSSMAN. You do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your position?

Mr. GROSSMAN. You ask a question, and I will answer it.

Mr. TAVENNER. I asked you whether or not you refuse to produce the records called for in the subpoena. Because I am demanding the production of them.

Mr. GROSSMAN. I decline to answer that question, on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I request that he be directed to produce the records.

Mr. WALTER. Yes; the acting chairman directs that the witness produce the records of the Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born described in the subpoena duces tecum.

Mr. GROSSMAN. I decline to answer that question, on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WALTER. Do you decline to produce the records?

Mr. GROSSMAN. I do not have any records with me.

Mr. WALTER. Where are the records of this committee?

Mr. GROSSMAN. I decline to answer that question, on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WALTER. Am I right in assuming that there are records?

Mr. GROSSMAN. I decline to answer that question, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Well, how about the question asked you by counsel? Do you decline to produce the records?

Mr. GROSSMAN. I do not have any records with me.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is not what I asked you, and the question calls for a simple answer, "Yes" or "No."

Mr. GROSSMAN. I decline to answer that question, on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. KEARNEY. I did not hear that.

Mr. GROSSMAN. I decline to answer the question, on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WALTER. Any questions, Mr. Kearney or Mr. Jackson?

The witness may be excused.

The committee will recess, subject to call.

(Whereupon, at 11:55 a. m., Tuesday, April 29, 1952, the hearing was recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.)

COMMUNISM IN THE DETROIT AREA—PART 2

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30, 1952

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10:40 a. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Francis E. Walter presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter, Bernard W. Kearney, Donald L. Jackson, and Charles E. Potter.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; Donald T. Appell, investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WALTER. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Tavenner, who is the first witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Thomas X. Dombrowski, will you come forward, please?

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Dombrowski, will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you give before this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I do.

Mr. WALTER. Are you represented by counsel?

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS X. DOMBROWSKI, ACCCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, DAVID REIN

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes; I am.

Mr. WALTER. Counsel will identify himself for the record.

Mr. REIN. David Rein, R-e-i-n, 711 Fourteenth Street NW.

Mr. WALTER. The subcommittee designated by the chairman to conduct this hearing, consisting of Messrs, Frazier, Kearney, Potter, Jackson, and Walter, are present with the exception of Mr. Frazier.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Dombrowski, will you state your full name, please?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Thomas X. Dombrowski.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you used any name other than the name of Thomas X. Dombrowski?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is it?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Thomas X. Dombe^y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name, please?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. D-o-m-b-e-y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state the circumstances under which you have used the two names?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes. I was doing graduate work in Ohio State University, in Columbus. I had been separated from any activities in the Polish community for so many years that I found difficulties with my name, and I legally changed it to Dombe^y and later changed it back to Dombrowski.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over what period of time did you use the name Thomas X. Dombe^y?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. A matter of about 4 or 5 years I would say roughly.

Mr. TAVENNER. From when, until when?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. From about 1936 or 1937 to about 1939 or 1940.

Mr. Counsel, just one moment. I don't know the procedures. I have a statement here I would like to present to the body.

Mr. WALTER. A statement?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. You may file it, and we will make it a part of the record if we see fit to do so.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Drombrowski?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I was born on February 7, 1914, in Pittsburg, Pa.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I reside in Detroit, 5546 MacDougall.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Detroit?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, with an interruption of about 2 years, I have lived there since 1939.

Mr. TAVENNER. What 2 years were you not a resident of that community?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. From the latter part of 1946 to the latter part of 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you reside during that 2-year period?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. In Columbus, Ohio.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to 1939, where did you reside?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. In New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. And for how long a period did you live in New York?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. About a year.

Mr. TAVENNER. That would be for the year 1939, or 1938?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. It would be the end of 1938 to the middle of 1939, approximately.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to 1938, where did you reside?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. At that time, I lived in Cleveland for about 2 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you outline for the committee, please, your educational training?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, I finished grammar and high school in Cleveland, Ohio, attended a business college for the period of a football season, transferred then to Ohio University in Athens, Ohio, and during that period I transferred to Cleveland, to Western Reserve University, and then back to Ohio University, where I got my undergraduate degree.

Then I received a traveling fellowship which took me to Poland to the University of Cracow and the University of Warsaw.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the spelling of the first university that you attended in Poland?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. C-r-a-c-o-w.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you go to Poland for that purpose?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. In the spring of 1935.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated you went there under a fellowship?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the fellowship?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. The Kosciuszko Foundation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell that?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I will try. K-o-s-c-i-u-s-z-k-o Foundation.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. Will you proceed? You were stating what your educational training had been.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. That is right. Then I returned to the States and did graduate work at the Ohio State University.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was that year?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. That was one term in one year and another term in the following year. It would probably be 1936 and 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. That completed my education.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Editor.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been an editor?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, I started off as a reporter for about 5 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let us put the question this way, please: Will you state what your record of employment or your professional career has been since you completed your education?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, I worked on promotional work for the Great Lakes Exposition in '36 and '37. I worked as a social worker in the city of Cleveland for about a year, '37-'38. Then I worked for the World's Fair Exposition in New York until I left New York. When I left New York I got employment at the paper where I am now editor.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what was that date?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I got employment there in the latter part of '39, the fall of '39.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what paper is it that you are the editor of?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Glos Ludowy, People's Voice, G-l-o-s L-u-d-o-w-y.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has information, Mr. Dombrowski, that there is located in Hamtramck a rather large union in the automobile industry, specifically the Dodge plant. You are acquainted with that fact, are you not?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is your work principally located in Hamtramck?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. No; it is not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has your work been centered in the past principally in Hamtramck?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. No; it has not.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your association or your work in Hamtramck?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, as part of the activities on the paper I cover all scenes and events of any importance everywhere of interest to Polish Americans in this country. That is the major occupation as far as my work was concerned. In my extracurricular activities, I have run for office in the city of Hamtramck.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, is your place of residence in Hamtramck?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. It is not.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you have run for office in Hamtramck?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. When I was a resident of Hamtramck.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over what period of years were you a resident of Hamtramck?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. From 1946 back about 5 years; from 1941, or early 1942, probably 1941, until 1946, I was a resident of Hamtramck.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is the publication with which you are connected located in Hamtramck?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. It is not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been connected with a publication which was located in Hamtramck?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Never to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Dombrowski, in the course of the committee's investigation, information has been received indicating that you took part in a number of meetings held in Detroit, and I want to ask you about your participation in some of them and the character of the business transacted in those meetings. There was, according to the committee's information, a meeting held at Yeman's Hall on June 14, 1940, in the city of Detroit.

According to information in the files of this committee, you spoke at this meeting and referred to President Roosevelt and others as "the real fifth columnists." You were reported, in effect, as stating that Roosevelt and the warmongers were howling that this country had no defenses, and it is reported that you concluded your speech on that occasion by asking the people to support the only democracy, communism.

Did you appear at that meeting and make the remarks attributed to you?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. As a matter of fact, going back to 1940, I spoke so frequently, so often, and so many places, that I couldn't say one way or the other whether I did or not. I may have. As to the remarks, I don't know who the reporter was. It doesn't sound as if some of the remarks could have been credited to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which of the remarks could not have been credited to you correctly?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, as a matter of fact, practically the totality of it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, "practically"? Be a little more specific, if you will.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. If you will read them over again, maybe I can recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. The subject under discussion was exposing the fifth columnists in this country. This was June the 14th, 1940. You were alleged to have referred to President Roosevelt in that connection, and others in Washington, as the "real fifth columnists."

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Offhand I would say, to the best of my recollection, I probably would not have said such a thing.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did you say?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. As I said, I made enough speeches then that if you asked me specifically about a speech made in the last part of the year and asked me what I said, I would have difficulty to—

Mr. TAVENNER. Did that express your view and opinion at that time?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. As to the question of Roosevelt and the fifth column, it did not.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your position in the days of the Hitler-Stalin pact with reference to aid by the United States to England, lend-lease aid?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I don't know what bearing it has on the hearing here to go into details of what I might have said in 1940, 12 years ago. I don't see the need for it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, will you answer the question?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. What is the question again?

Mr. TAVENNER. The question is whether or not you opposed, during the Hitler-Stalin pact, the granting of lend-lease aid to Britain.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I may have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, didn't you?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. In 1940, June 14th? I can't say positively.

Mr. TAVENNER. Regardless of the specific date, didn't you publicly criticize the foreign policy of the United States in the granting of lend-lease aid to Britain?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes. I remember I publicly fought for years for the principle of collective security, and I believed it lay in the best interests of this country that this principle of collective security be brought to life in actuality. And as the events unfolded in that particular period, during the period of the phony war, during the period when every effort was being made to change the war from a war against Hitlerism to a war against the Soviet Union and other democracies, I felt at that time that it was incorrect to support any program which would eventually enable us to fight on the side of the Nazis.

Mr. WALTER. Did I understand you correctly to describe the Soviet Union as a democracy?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. You think that the Soviet Union is a democracy?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes. You may have an opinion. You laugh about it. Your opinion may differ from mine. But my opinion is that.

Mr. WALTER. I am only thinking of concentration camps and slave labor.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. There are concentration camps being built in the United States, Mr. Walter, I believe your name is.

Mr. WALTER. Where? Where are they?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Oh, in Tule, or the former Japanese camp, and other places. Don't you read the newspapers?

Mr. WALTER. I know what you say is not true.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. If you wish, I can quote some newspapers for you. I have some in my files. The Attorney General, of course, has indicated they were being built.

Mr. TAVENNER. And I understand you did publicly oppose and energetically oppose lend-lease aid to Britain during the Stalin-Hitler Pact, from your statement.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, I would make one modification. The Stalin-Hitler Nonaggression Pact, if you don't mind, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of course, there have been many interpretations as to what that was.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Surely, and everybody is justified in believing in his own, I imagine.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, on July 12, 1941, according to the information of the committee, there was a meeting of the Communist Party of North Detroit held in the rear of the Davidson & MacDougall Market. You were reported as having made a speech in the Polish language, at which you related at this meeting the successes of the Red Army. And you were reported as saying:

We must work. We must unite. We must produce. And we must petition the great President of the United States to send immediate aid to the Soviet Union and to England.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I don't recall that particular meeting, as I said before, but I can recall the position I adopted at that time, which I felt was correct. And eventually, as you know, the majority of the American people felt the same way. It was necessary to produce. The character of the war had changed. It was no longer a question of the possibility of transforming this war into a war that would be harmful to the interests in the future of the United States. At that time I did take a position calling for the utmost expenditure of energy to produce for victory.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did the character of the war change?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. The character of any war changes when something decisive happens.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that was on the 22d day of June of that year; was it not?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When Germany attacked Russia?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. That is right. And I think you will agree it was a decisive change.

Mr. TAVENNER. You violently opposed the President of the United States and referred to him as one of a warmonger group until that occurred, and then afterwards, immediately afterwards, you desired to petition "the great President of the United States" to intervene.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, when I am driving down the street in the daytime, and night comes, I turn on the lights. I adjust myself to the new circumstances in which I find myself.

At that time a major change had taken place in the character of the war, and that change, I think, came out to the benefit of the United States and the American people, and as such I was doing the kind of job that I felt, as I always had done, would serve the American people best.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the difference in the Fascist war with Germany was conducting on the 21st of June and that which it con-

ducted on the 22d of June, other than to have a new enemy, the Soviet Union?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. The difference lay in the following fact: That when Hitler decided to attack the Soviet Union, the basic character of the entire struggle had changed, to this extent, that wherein the Soviet Union had signed a nonaggression pact with Hitler at that period of time, due entirely to the machinations and efforts by many of the same elements who in this country had tried to provoke another war, the Soviet Union—excuse me. I get interrupted a little when these gentlemen flash their bulbs.

When you get through, I will talk.

(Addressing news photographers.)

When he invaded the Soviet Union at that time, he created conditions which irrevocably made it impossible for him to win the war provided the Allies could remain united. And I think the best proof of that situation lies in the fact that almost immediately on that eve, even those like Winston Churchill who had been conniving to see what could be done about changing the direction of the war, began to realize that here was the first opportunity, after a couple of years of very serious bombardment of London and other English communities, British communities, and they too decided that they would accept, in fact, the proposal that the Soviets had been making for so many years, a proposal that I had for many years advocated myself, that of collective security. And the fact remains that here, too, in the United States, we recognized the changed character of the war and we also adopted a position similar to the one that I took.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the Communist Party line at that time changed just at the same time that you changed in your views. That is correct; is it not?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. This is one of those questions where it is difficult to answer without indicating some affiliation or association with the Communist Party. Suppose I put it this way. Those were my beliefs, sincerely and honestly arrived at, which I worked out on the basis of my experience and background.

Mr. TAVENNER. And did you appear at the Communist Party meeting referred to on July 12, 1941, and express there your conviction and your views?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I haven't the slightest idea. As I said before, when you start selecting dates many years ago, you confuse me by asking me about the dates of my last tour in this country.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, let us put the question this way: Did you attend Communist Party meetings soon after June 22, 1941, and express the views that you have just spoken of?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I attended many kinds of meetings. I didn't question the character of the sponsors in particular, if they were for the welfare and benefit of this country.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you answer the question, please?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I do not remember whether I did or did not at that time attend the Communist meeting.

Mr. WALTER. Were you a Communist in 1941, Mr. Dombrowski?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of my rights guaranteed under the fifth amendment of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Dombrowski, during the course of the hearing conducted by this committee in Detroit, there appeared as a witness a person by the name of Wayne Salisbury. Mr. Salisbury testified that he had attended a meeting at the Communist Political Association on July 22, 1945, and he mentioned your name in connection with that meeting. Mr. Salisbury was asked this question:

Mr. Salisbury, on July 22, 1945, did you attend a State convention of the Communist Political Association held in Detroit, Mich., at 114 Erskine Street?

Mr. SALISBURY. Yes. I accompanied Fay McDonald, another delegate to this meeting. The meeting was opened at 9:55 a.m., by Bill McKie.

The first order of business was the nomination for the chairman of the morning session. Those nominated were: Jerry Boyd, Nat Ganley, William McKie, Maurice Cook, Hoke Higdon, and Paul Boatin.

All declined to McKie. The motion was made to accept McKie, and he was nominated. Nominated as secretary for the convention were: Tom Dombrowski; Jerry Boyd; Nelson Davis; Laurie Kelly; Mattie Woodson; and a man named Showerman.

Jerry Boyd accepted the nomination. All others declined and Mr. Boyd was nominated.

Nominations were accepted for membership for the rules committee. Committee delegates were nominated, and 14 accepted. The following accepted nominations to the rules committee: Laurie Kelly, Midtown Club; Shapiro, Southfield; Bob Washington, First Congressional District; Helen Allison, Midtown Club; Paul Endicott, Midtown Club; Paul Henley, Midtown Club; Hoke Higdon, Muskegon; Tom Dombrowski, Hamtramck; a man named Campbell from Ben Davis Club; James Widmark, Flint; Fred Field, Grand Rapids.

Were you elected to the rules committee of that convention?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I refuse to answer under my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend that convention as a delegate?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at that time, July 22, 1945, a member of the Communist Political Association?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I refuse to answer, on the same grounds.

Mr. KEARNEY. If you were not a member of the Communist Political Association at that time, would you so answer?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. No, I would not.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a copy of the Daily Worker, September 19, 1940. On page 5 appears an article datelined Detroit, September 18. Will you read the last paragraph of that article, please, sir? The last paragraph which is underscored?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. The paragraph you have asked me to read says the following:

Tomorrow night an election rally will be held for Thomas Dombrowski, Communist candidate for Congress, at Croatian Hall, 1131 East Kirby Street.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a candidate for Congress in the election referred to?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I claim my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to file a photostatic copy of the issue of the Daily Worker of September 19, 1940, and ask that it be marked "Dombrowski Exhibit No. 1." It is actually a photostatic copy of page 5.

Mr. WALTER. Would not the best evidence of that fact be the papers filed in order to obtain the nomination?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, the best proof of it would be the official petitions for his candidacy.

Mr. WALTER. Did you file such a petition?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I will refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

(Representative Charles E. Potter left the hearing room at this point.)

(The photostat referred to was marked "Dombrowski Exhibit No. 1.")

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a handbill advertising a rally for defense held at Yemans Hall, 3014 Yemans Avenue, Friday, December 12, 1941, on which handbill a person by the name of Thomas X. Dombrowski is identified as the Hamtramek organizer of the Communist Party.

Have you seen that bandbill before, or a similar handbill?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I don't recall.

Mr. KEARNEY. Were you running for Congress at that time?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I claim my privilege under the fifth amendment and the Bill of Rights.

Mr. WALTER. Have you been a candidate for Congress at any time on any party ticket, without specifying which one?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I claim my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. KEARNEY. Were you ever elected as a Member to Congress?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I think you have the records, gentlemen.

Mr. KEARNEY. I did not ask you that.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Obviously not.

Mr. WALTER. Well, now, the question I asked you was whether or not you had ever been a candidate for Congress, without mentioning the party in which you were a candidate. Why do you feel that you might be incriminated to admit that you had been a candidate for Congress?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, sir, engaging in a discussion on that point now may do exactly the thing that I claim immunity from.

Mr. WALTER. I just did not know that anybody might expose themselves to criminal prosecution because they had been a candidate for Congress.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Everything is possible today.

Mr. WALTER. I think we will recess at this time, Mr. Tavenner, for about 20 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 11:30 a. m., a recess was taken until 12:02 p. m.; Representatives Francis E. Walter, Bernard W. Kearney, and Donald L. Jackson were present.)

Mr. WALTER. Proceed. Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Dombrowski, I desire to offer in evidence the flyer which I handed to you, and ask that it be marked "Dombrowski Exhibit No. 2."

Mr. WALTER. It will be marked and received.

(The flyer referred to was marked "Dombrowski Exhibit No. 2," and made a part of the record.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I notice from this flyer that the proposed meeting is called a rally for defense. The speakers are advertised as Pat Toohey, state secretary of the Communist Party, who was speaking English and Russian, and Thomas X. Dombrowski, Hamtramek organizer of the Communist Party, "who will speak in Polish."

Did Mr. Pat Toohey speak at that meeting, to your knowledge?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I think previously I indicated that I would claim

my rights under the fifth amendment in relation to that particular exhibit. I still do.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Pat Toohey?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I also exercise my right under the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. TAVENNER. This flyer refers to you as the Hamtramck organizer of the Communist Party. Were you the Hamtramck organizer of the Communist Party in 1941?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. The same answer as previously. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a copy of the Hamtramck Newspaper called the Plain Dealer. The issue I hand you is that of June 25, 1943. Page 4 is devoted to an advertisement of the Hamtramck Communist Party, and the name of Thomas X. Dombrowski appears thereon as the organizer. Will you examine it, please, and state whether or not you see there the statement that Thomas X. Dombrowski is the organizer of the Hamtramck Communist Party?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I see that statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you the Thomas X. Dombrowski referred to in that publication?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I refuse to answer under the rights guaranteed me under the fifth amendment.

It is a good statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, if it is a good statement, did you make it, as organizer of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Pardon?

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated: "It is a good statement."

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. From a newspaperman's point of view.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it a statement that you made as organizer of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as previously.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a copy of the publication entitled "Good Neighbor." Looking at the editorial page, which is page 2, it appears that the editor is Thomas X. Dombrowski. Will you examine it, please, and state whether or not you were the editor of that paper?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does your name appear as the editor of that paper, on the editorial page?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. There is a name which says "Thomas X. Dombrowski."

Mr. TAVENNER. As editor?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Let me take a look at it again.

It does so state here, "Editor, Thomas X. Dombrowski."

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you the editor of that paper, as stated?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I refuse to answer, on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the paper again and state where it was published?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, the paper here says it was published in Hamtramck, Mich.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what is the address?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. The address here says 3014 Yemans Avenue.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, Mr. Dombrowski, in your earlier testimony

you denied having been connected with a newspaper published in Hamtramck.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, do you deny having any connection with Good Neighbor, published at Hamtramck, Mich.?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I have already refused to answer that question, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. No; you have not refused to answer it, if you have already denied it. Do you have any explanation to make for your denial that you published the paper, or were connected with the paper in Hamtramck, Mich.?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. The only publication with which I am employed and have been employed for years is the present paper, the Glos Ludowy, the People's Voice, of Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is the only newspaper with which you have been connected?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. By which I have been employed and have earned my living, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Oh, I am not asking you whether you were paid for your work or not. My question in the earlier part of the testimony was whether you were connected with the publication of any newspaper in Hamtramck, to which you replied "No."

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. You raised the question of a publication that appears at regular intervals, and it was on that understanding that the question was originally answered.

Mr. TAVENNER. My question related to your connection with any publication.

Mr. WALTER. In any capacity whatsoever.

Mr. TAVENNER. In Hamtramck; which you denied. Now I am handing you this copy of the Good Neighbor, which shows that you were the editor of that paper, published in Hamtramck.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And I ask you to state whether or not since seeing the paper you know that you were connected with the publication.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I indicated that I would claim under my rights under the fifth amendment in regard to that publication, and I still claim my rights under the fifth amendment as regards that publication.

And I would further add that insofar as the question of any other publications concerned in Hamtramck, I will also claim, and claim, my immunity, under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You claim immunity now, but in your earlier testimony you denied ever having been affiliated with a publication in Hamtramck.

Now, do you desire to change that statement?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, I think that I made it very clear as to what I consider being connected with a publication.

At that time you were asking me my employment record, and I answered my employment record truthfully. I have never been employed by any other publication, have never been employed by any Hamtramck publication, and at that time, if I remember correctly, you were discussing my employment record, and as such I answered truthfully.

Mr. TAVENNER. Your answer would not have been truthful if you had been the editor of this publication, Good Neighbor, published in Hamtramck; would it?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. In the framework in which that question was posed previously, we were discussing my employment record, sir, if you will remember, and on the basis of my employment record, where I had worked, and the continuation of those questions in that same spirit, and that is why I answered as I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the masthead of the paper again and state by whom the paper is published, or was published?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. It states here the paper was published by the city committee, Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what is the date?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. The date is April 1943.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does the masthead also reflect the address of the Hamtramck Communist Party as 3014 Yemans Avenue?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. All I see here is the address, 3014 Yemans Avenue. What it reflects depends on who is looking at it, I imagine.

Mr. TAVENNER. What does it mean to you?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. That apparently the address on this publication was 3014 Yemans Avenue, city of Hamtramck.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that the address of the Communist Party of Hamtramck?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. It may have been.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, you know whether it was or not, don't you?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I claim my privilege under the fifth amendment.

(Representative Donald L. Jackson left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the publication in evidence and ask that it be marked "Dombrowski Exhibit No. 3."

Mr. WALTER. Mark it and it will be received.

(The publication was marked "Dombrowski Exhibit No. 3" and made a part of the record.)

Mr. TAVENNER. At the bottom of the front page of Dombrowski exhibit No. 3 is an advertisement for a meeting at Yemans Hall, 3014 Yemans Avenue, held under the auspices of the Hamtramck Communist Party. It is entitled "Unity for Victory Rally" and there appears this language:

Hear Thomas X. Dombrowski, Pat Toohey, Michigan secretary, Communist Party, Russian and Ukrainian speakers, expose the fifth-column attempt to split this unit.

Did you engage as a speaker at that meeting?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I refuse to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you the person referred to as Thomas X. Dombrowski in that statement?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I refuse likewise under the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the report on the American Slav Congress and associated organizations released by this committee on June 26, 1949, this statement appears at page 71:

Two men who have been responsible for directing the policy of Glos Ludowy are avowed members of the Communist Party, United States of America, high in the party hierarchy. One of these men is Thomas X. Dombrowski, editor of Glos Ludowy.

(Representative Donald L. Jackson returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. TAVENNER. You have stated the period of time during which you were editor. I believe you stated it was from about 1936, did you not?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. No. I said I started employment in the latter part of 1939 and became editor sometime in the forties—the early forties.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know when Glos Ludowy was first published?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, it has a record of 29 years of existence in one form or another.

Mr. TAVENNER. How is it financed at the present time?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. It is financed by advertising, subscriptions, donations, miscellaneous income.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the character of the donations that you received?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Readers very frequently donate funds to the newspaper, annually.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has the publication received any contributions or donations from the Communist Party?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, we have received in the span of years that I have been working there contributions from various organizations, from various rallies, so that I would not offhand be able to state definitely and concretely whether at one time or another specifically a Communist Party rally or something had not donated funds to this paper.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you mean to state to the committee that you do not know whether the Communist Party—

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I said it was very possible at one time or another they may have. And when you say "Communist Party," that incorporates a very wide field in terms of Communist Party organization. I assume you are aware of it.

I said there may have been a rally sponsored from which part of the proceeds—I don't recall offhand any such rally. Certain of the readers of the paper, who may or may not have been Communists, have donated funds to the paper, I mean to say, just to make myself clear.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you received contributions from the IWO, the International Workers' Order?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, the same answer applies here. There are various lodges of the IWO who may have at one time or another sent us a donation because of the fact that we publicized their meetings and other material.

Mr. TAVENNER. But in the case of the Communist Party, you don't know?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. There may have been. I thought I made it very clear that I could not state definitely that it had not been. It is very possible.

Mr. TAVENNER. And do you state that you do not have any actual knowledge of contributions by the Communist Party?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Offhand, to be very specific about any actual contribution from any Communist Party, I don't. At the moment, I can't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any contribution made by any organization?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. They come in every year. We probably get two or three thousand contributions from readers and organizations in groups of people and affairs and parties.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your exact position with the paper?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Editor of the paper.

Mr. TAVENNER. Your salary is paid in part from the contributions that are made to the paper?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I am paid wholly by the newspaper for which I work.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have not examined the list of contributors to the point where you are able to designate any contributor to your paper?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. As a matter of fact, there is a business office which handles that, and we have problems enough without getting into the books of the institution to find out which specific group or other had given the donation.

Mr. WALTER. Is a record kept of those donations?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes, of course, under the laws of the State of Michigan, under which we function, and the Federal laws, records are kept.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you intending to state that you have never examined that list of contributors?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, we publish in the paper about every month a listing of the donations that are offered that paper. It is public information. If you were to ask me specifically to name one organization or one institution which as of any certain date has given any funds, I could not answer that, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you publish a list of all the contributors?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. All the contributors. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have there been contributions from the Polonia Society of the International Workers' Order?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I imagine various lodges may have sent in funds. And it would have been indicated in the reports, which are made public, over the span of approximately a month, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who is the head of the administrative work of your paper?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. A chap by the name of Ben Kocel, K-o-c-e-l. He is the office manager.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell the last name?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. K-o-c-e-l.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is your paper, the Glos Ludowy, printed by its own presses?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the arrangement for printing?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. We have a print shop, where we take the paper to. They set it and print it for us, for which we pay them. It is a separate institution.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the name of that?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Chene, C-h-e-n-e, Printing.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where it is located?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. In the city of Detroit?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the address, please?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. 5856 Chene Street.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. C-h-e-n-e.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether the contributions that are made to your paper are tax-exempt?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I assume that they aren't. I don't think the question was ever raised by any of the donors, to my knowledge. I am not clear on that.

Mr. WALTER. Do you have fourth class mailing privileges?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know who printed the paper, Good Neighbor, a copy of which was exhibited to you a few moments ago?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. In view of the fact that I have refused to answer any questions regarding the Good Neighbor, I will stick to that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you affiliated with an organization known as the Unity Press?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I am not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever held a position or been employed by the Unity Press?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I have not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where is the Unity Press located?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. The Unity Press was the organization that preceded the present Chene Printing.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was it succeeded by the present Chene Printing?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Within the last year or so, I would say.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can't you be more specific than that?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. No, because my associations with it were simply from the point of view of a customer to an institution where we printed our publication. I would say approximately a year ago; maybe a couple of months less, or a couple of months more. I offhand can't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who is the head of Chene Printing?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. It is an incorporated institution which has its board of directors and officers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who is the president?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the head of Unity Press?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. What do you mean by the head of the Unity Press?

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it a corporation?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes, it was a corporation, a nonprofit corporation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was its president?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I don't recall who was its president. I thought I indicated very clearly that our relationships with Unity Press were business relationships; so that I can't go into the details of the internal functionings of the Unity Press, or the Chene Printing at the moment. It is a business institution with which we deal.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you don't know the name of the president of the corporation with which you have been dealing in the printing of your paper?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. There is an office manager to whom we present the jobs, from whom we receive the bills, to whom we pay by check, all duly recorded.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who is the office manager?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. A woman, Mrs. Alice Kocel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is she the wife of Ben Kocel?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I guess so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, you know, don't you?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes, I guess she is.

Mr. WALTER. Is she the office manager for Unity Press also?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. So, actually, you have the wife of the office manager of your company, who was the manager of Unity Press?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. She is, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And she is the office manager of Chene Printing?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Chene Printing, yes. There is nothing unusual about a wife being employed also, is there?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, but it is a very close association.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes. Wife-husband is.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which it seems you ought to have known considerable about.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Personally, I don't enter into the lives of individuals for the sake of being able to appear later and indicate any facts about them. I have my own concerns. I have the publication to worry about.

Mr. JACKSON. In whom is vested ownership of the publication with which you are associated?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. It is a partnership consisting of three people.

Mr. JACKSON. Who are they?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I am one of them. Mr. V. W. Kucharski, K-u-c-h-a-r-s-k-i, is another one. And Amelia Doczkal D-o-e-z-k-a-l.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who determines the editorial policy of your paper?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. The editorial board.

Mr. TAVENNER. And of whom is the board composed?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. It is composed of the gentleman I referred to, Mr. Kueharski, myself, and the employees.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not the magazine, Good Neighbor, was printed by Unity Press?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, I will revert to the same answer as I mentioned before relating to the Good Neighbor. I will rest under my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I refer now to the April 1943 issue of the Good Neighbor publication, which has been introduced in evidence as Dombrowski Exhibit No. 3.

On page 2 there appears this statement:

Anyone who states that the Soviet Union threatens Poland's independence and integrity, helps the Polish-American Fascists, the American defeatists, and Goebbels.

Did you write that?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I refuse to answer, on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. What I have read is taken from an article entitled "For Unity of United Nations for Polish-Soviet Cooperation. Defeat Conspiracy Against Slav Unity," which is referred to as a statement of the Communist Party of Michigan.

Do I understand that you refuse on the ground that it might tend to incriminate you, to admit that you wrote that article?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes; I invoke the fifth amendment in this case also.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with State Senator Stanley Nowak, former State Senator Stanley Nowak?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes; I am acquainted with the former State senator.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a person known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was not? Did I understand you to say you did not know?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the meeting at Yemans Hall, December 21, 1940, the Communist Party meeting, which meeting I referred to in the earlier part of your testimony, you were reported as being a speaker. And you were reported as having explained the absence of Stanley Nowak, who was scheduled as a speaker at that meeting. Do you recall that?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall having explained at any Communist Party meeting the absence of Stanley Nowak?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. No; I don't recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with George Kristolski?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I claim privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Henry Podolski affiliated with your publication, Glos Ludowy?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I claim the constitutional right.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was the editor, formerly the editor, of your publication, was he not?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I claim privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with John Zydok, Z-y-d-o-k, an assistant manager of the Workers' Cooperative Restaurant in Hamtramck?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I claim my privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a copy of the Michigan School of Social Science catalog for the spring term of April 28 through June 23, 1950, and I will ask you to look at the bottom of page 5 and state what it shows with reference to a course being conducted by a person by the name of Thomas X. Dombrowski.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. The entire paragraph, sir?

Mr. TAVENNER. Just describe the course generally.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI (reading):

The World Today: A survey of current problems. The struggle for peace as the urgent international issue. Is world war III inevitable? Can world peace be preserved by the U. N.?—world government?—United States foreign policy? What is the role of the Soviet Union, new European democracies, China, in world peace camp? The meaning of "total diplomacy" of the Truman administration New developments in Viet Namh, Africa, and Indonesia.

Mr. TAVENNER. And who is listed as the person who conducted that course?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Listed here as instructor is Thomas X. Dombrowski.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you the person referred to?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I refuse to answer that on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you examine the catalog again and read the names of the board of directors and the other instructors?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. It says here:

Board of directors: Christopher C. Alston, Nat Ganley, James E. Jackson, Jr., William McKie, Fred Williams.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, just a moment. Do you know any of those persons to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I refuse to answer under my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right, then. Will you name the members of the faculty?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I also refuse to answer that on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you read those whose names appear as the members of the faculty?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. They are not listed here separately.

Mr. TAVENNER. The executive director is named Ann Beiswenger. Were you acquainted with Ann Beiswenger?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I refuse to answer, under the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Other instructors named are: Mary Bray, Robert Cummins, Lee Marsh, Ray Haskell, Christopher C. Alston, Tommy Dennis, Ann Beiswenger, William Allan, Nat Ganley, and Hugo Beiswenger.

Were any of those persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I refuse to answer under the privileges of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a flyer which is entitled "Exposed—Issued as a Public Service by the Michigan Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born." I will ask you to examine it and state whether or not you are acquainted with the circumstances under which that flyer was issued.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I have seen this flyer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with the circumstances under which it was issued?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I refuse to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine it again and state whether or not it was printed by the Unity Press?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. It does not so indicate here. It has "Label 37."

Mr. TAVENNER. What is Label 37? What does it designate? What printing establishment?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. The print shop.

Mr. TAVENNER. What print shop?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Where it was printed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Well, what print shop does that refer to?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. No. 37, I think, at one time was the number of the Unity Press.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then it indicates that the flyer was printed by the Unity Press, does it not?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Probably.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it the same number that the Chene Printing has now?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. It is not.

Mr. TAVENNER. What number does the Chene Printing Co. have?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I don't know. It is a union shop.

Mr. WALTER. Did you have anything to do with the composing of this flyer?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. No, I had nothing to do with the issuance of that flyer.

Mr. WALTER. I notice at the bottom it is stated:

In Detroit alone the immigration authorities have started deportation proceedings against over 30 men and women.

Was this Michigan Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born protesting against deportation proceedings?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. That is a question you can direct to the Michigan Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born.

Mr. WALTER. I am asking you the question.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I assume that is one of its functions.

Mr. WALTER. To prevent or to attempt to prevent deportation?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. If it so says and is signed by them, I assume that is their position.

Mr. WALTER. That is a startling thing to me, because after all, aliens are deported after they have committed two felonies, two crimes involving moral turpitude, and I have assumed that no committee would attempt to prevent the deportation of that type of alien.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, you are selecting a certain type of alien subject to deportation.

Mr. WALTER. No, they are selecting only criminals, only those who have on two occasions been convicted of crimes involving moral turpitude.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. The classification "deportation" includes others, too; not only those guilty of moral turpitude.

Mr. WALTER. Well, what others?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, I have been aware in my newspaper coverage—

Mr. WALTER. Ship jumpers and stowaways, people who are illegally in the United States?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. That is right.

Mr. WALTER. That is all.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Oh, no; I have covered hearings wherein there is no question of moral turpitude involved and no question of jumping ship involved.

Mr. WALTER. What have been the grounds in the hearings that you have attended, for deportation?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Some of them, membership in the Communist Party.

Mr. WALTER. Oh, and you do not think that aliens who are members of an organization whose purpose it is to overthrow this Government should be removed from this country. Is that what your position is?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. No; I didn't say anything of that sort, sir.

Mr. WALTER. I am asking you if that is your position.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. It is not my position.

Mr. WALTER. You think those people should be deported?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, you enter in that question, a whole wide field of activity as to who is going to determine the situation. And I,

frankly speaking, do not want to get involved in an extensive discussion here.

Mr. WALTER. Well, you have indicated to me that you rather think that they are a preferred class of citizenry and ought to remain here.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I don't know how. You didn't get it from what I said.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member or in any way affiliated with the Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born at this time, or have you been affiliated with it in the past?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been affiliated with the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. The same, answer, for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, this flyer which I handed you bears the photograph of a person who testified at a deportation hearing, and the flyer is in the nature of a warning, and states:

All decent people are warned not to have any dealings with this stool pigeon.

Did you play any part in counseling or advising or composing that flyer?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I refuse to answer, on the basis of the rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WALTER. Do you know the man whose picture appears on the flyer?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I refuse to answer, on the same grounds.

Mr. WALTER. Did the man testify in deportation proceedings?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. As I recall, I wrote in the paper that he had.

Mr. WALTER. And because he testified against an alien, he is charged with being a stool pigeon; is that correct?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. That is what it says there.

Mr. WALTER. Well, let me tell you something. The aliens that I have come in contact with, and they are many because I happen to be chairman of the Subcommittee on Immigration, resent very much the attempts made by certain aliens to prevent simple justice from being done. They feel that it is a reflection on all of them. And by attempting to prevent justice from being done, in fact the organizations engaged in that are making it very, very difficult for the decent law-abiding people that we have extended a welcome to.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the flyer in evidence and ask that it be marked "Dombrowski Exhibit No. 4."

Mr. WALTER. It may be marked and received.

(The flyer referred to was marked "Dombrowski Exhibit No. 4," and made a part of the record.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a convention of the Polish National Alliance held in Buffalo, N. Y., in September of 1951?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you evicted twice from that convention under a motion to bar Reds and their sympathizers from the sessions?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Once, actually. The first time they attempted the eviction, I wasn't there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, were you at that time a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I refuse to answer, as I have on previous occasions, on the basis of my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. The same answer, for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have told us about your trip to Poland in 1935, and you stated that while there you attended the Crackow University. I probably am not pronouncing that correctly.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. The correct pronunciation is "Crahhkoof."

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you in Poland on that occasion.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. About 5 or 6 months, if I recall correctly.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long a period of time were you in attendance at school there?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, practically for the whole period that I was there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you make an application for a passport to Poland in 1945?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes; I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you visit Poland at that time?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. No; I didn't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you later have your passport renewed?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. In the beginning of 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the purpose in asking for the renewal of your passport?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, I went there for two reasons. I was helping to write a book; and to visit my relatives, and to use my position as a journalist and gather materials.

Mr. TAVENNER. Our information is that you sailed from Poland on the *Batory* on June 18, 1948. How long did you remain in Poland at that time?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. About 3 or 4 months, I think, just about 3 or 4 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. While there, did you confer with Boleslaw Gebert?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I met him.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your purpose in meeting him?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I had known him for some time.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long had you known Boleslaw Gebert?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Approximately—I had run into him off and on for the past 9 or 10 years, I imagine.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you must have known him when he was in the United States.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. During what period of time did you know him in the United States?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Up to the time he left.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know him as a functionary of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I will claim my privilege on that question, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. While in Poland on this trip, did you meet Henry Podolski?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I did not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Henry Podolski was still in the United States at that time?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I know he was not in Poland at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, had you discussed your trip to Poland with Henry Podolski before you left the United States?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I discussed the trip with several people.

Mr. WALTER. Was he included among them?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. He may have been.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, was he?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I think he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, by that do you mean that you are satisfied that he was one of those that you conferred with about your trip to Poland?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. If you mean conferred with, talked to about, yes.

Mr. WALTER. Is your passport still in existence?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. It is.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Podolski known to you at that time as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I refuse to answer that question, on the grounds of invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has Henry Podolski been deported?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes. He left voluntarily, it was announced. He was under order of deportation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the others that you conferred with with regard to your trip to Poland?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. The manager of the paper and the owner at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you also confer with anyone in the Polish consulate office in Detroit?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Outside of getting my visa? I was within the region in which it functioned, so I applied for a visa and received it.

Mr. WALTER. What were the grounds for which this man was deported?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Oh, we had a hearing for a long time. I don't recall the exact details.

Mr. WALTER. What grounds were stated as the reason for the deportation?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, it was a case that was heard and reheard. And as a newspaperman, I followed it. And the actual grounds were, if I remember correctly, the allegation that he had been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WALTER. From the finding of the trial examiner, he took an appeal?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I think he did.

Mr. WALTER. And the finding was sustained?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I think it was.

Mr. WALTER. And it went into the courts?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I don't think it did.

Mr. WALTER. But you say there were hearings that took place for a long while.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Oh, in the Immigration Department in the city of Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you take any type of an educational course or training in Poland when you went there in 1948?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes. It was known as Slovanics.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, tell us more about it, please.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. It dealt with Polish history, background, geography, language, similar things.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was this course given?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. It was given in two sections. One section at the University of Cracow and one section at the University of Warsaw.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who sponsored the course?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. The universities named.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that the purpose for your going to Poland?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes, I received this award, scholarship, fellowship, upon my graduation, and left immediately thereafter.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am speaking now of 1948.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Oh, no. I had nothing on that score. I am thinking of the scholarship, that period of 1935. No, I took no courses whatsoever.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was your trip in 1948 financed in any way by any organization or other persons?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes, partly by the newspaper and partly from my own funds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you receive any financial support from other sources?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. The only thing that might be termed financial support were the courtesies extended all newspaper men in Warsaw. For example, if a special meeting was being held some place, they would provide transportation and provide housing, and that was a common practice for all newspapermen.

Mr. WALTER. In 1948, were all newspapermen admitted to Poland?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Oh, yes. There were newspapermen from the New York Times. There was a body of 26 or 28 at that time in Warsaw, foreign correspondents.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been employed at any time by the Polish Embassy in Washington?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I will claim my immunity under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WALTER. Why do you feel that it might incriminate you to answer the question of whether or not you were employed by the Polish Embassy in Washington?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, if I answered your question, sir, I would be negating the question that I just refused to answer, in discussing the same question I refused to answer, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been the working arrangement between you and officials of the present Polish Government for the publication in your newspaper of propaganda emanating from Poland?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. The same arrangement we have with any other institutions in this country. We receive releases from various sources and if we deem it suitable to publish, we select the materials that we want to publish.

Mr. TAVENNER. Specifically, what is your arrangement with the consulate in Detroit?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Specifically the same arrangement that exists with other institutions that issue publicity and informational materials.

Mr. WALTER. Do you receive releases from the French Government?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. At one time or another we received releases from various governments; not using them, because of the limitations of the newspaper, we canceled it and suggested they do not send it. We got stacks from all over.

Mr. WALTER. Actually, the only country not canceled was Poland; was that not right?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. We happen to be a Polish-American publication, which has to gain whatever materials it can from whatever sources it can.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you receive the U. S. S. R. bulletin regularly?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes, we receive that, too.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you print excerpts from the bulletin?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Very rarely, sir, depending on the occasion and what the material is.

Mr. WALTER. Why did you not cancel the information coming from Russia, if you were a Polish newspaper?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. For a very simple reason. Because of the relationships that exist. In fact, we receive bulletins from various other governments because of the relationships that exist that are of interest.

Mr. WALTER. Iron curtain countries?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes; other countries.

Mr. WALTER. Would it be much easier to just use the Soviet releases?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. We are not looking out for an easy way. We have a paper to publish.

Mr. WALTER. You would not have to read all these others. You would have all the information, then.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. We try to edit a good paper, which contains all points of view.

Mr. KEARNEY. How many foreign correspondents did you say were in Poland at that time?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. It was either 26 or 28. It was one trainload. I remember, because we were traveling one time, and got invitations to visit a city in Poland, and it was full house in one of these two engine jobs, and since I associated with them in various social ways in addition, there were 26 or 28, either one number or the other, I am certain, including my person.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you know how many there are now?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I haven't the slightest idea.

Mr. KEARNEY. Are there 28?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I haven't the slightest idea.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us, please, if you know, whether the Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is an affiliate of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born?¹

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. In view of the fact that I refused to answer any questions relating to the Michigan Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, I exercise this same right now.

Mr. TAVENNER. I failed to ask you whether or not Mr. Ben Kocel, who is the business manager of your paper, has any official connection with Unity Press, or did have any official connection with it?

¹ See pp. 3206-3211 for photographic reproduction of leaflet, Call to Mass Meeting and Conference, Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in cooperation with the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, October 27, 1951.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I don't know. I doubt it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he have any connection, or does he have any connection, with Chene Printing?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I doubt it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, do you know?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does Mrs. Kocel have any official connection with your paper?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. None whatsoever.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I think that is all.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. WALTER. Any questions? Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. I note that in your publication you published an open letter to your Congressman, an able Member of Congress, which chastised him for not replying to a speech that was made on the floor by another Member of Congress, and by the wording of your open letter, you intended to create an impression that Congressman Machrowicz was being anti-Semitic for not replying to the words of another Member of Congress. I am interested in knowing whether the open letter that you wrote was an effort to discredit Congressman Machrowicz as an individual, because of his anti-Communist position, or whether it was to discredit him because of his work on a committee to investigate the massacre in the Katyn Forest. Would you care to answer that question?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes. Your interpretation as to intent is naturally your own.

The position of our paper was, has been, that it opposes any expressions of racism, anti-Semitism—or similar un-American doctrines wherever they are to be found. I, as a citizen, a voter in the first congressional district—and for your information, I have known Mr. Machrowicz for a long time, and we have spoken often from the same platform. For your information, I wrote that letter in the form of a petition to the Congressman, to get him to express his position on anti-Semitism. As you know, he answered me. I gave another letter fully explaining the intents and purposes. And it is the fact that the gentleman is also one of the prime movers behind the Katyn massacre, which is one of the great provocations that are being employed today to create a situation in which we whitewash the Nazis, in view of the policy of rearming West Germany. I think I refer there in that same open letter to his position on the Nuremberg trial, whether or not this Katyn business wasn't just an introduction to whitewashing all of those guilty of the barbaric crimes that were tried at Nuremberg.

Mr. POTTER. In other words, you were fearful of the facts that this committee might bring out as to who was to blame for the Katyn massacre?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I am not afraid of facts, sir. That isn't what I am fearing. This is an obvious provocation, which the Governments of France and Italy understood, and refused to permit that committee to conduct hearings, and even England told them they would have to hold those hearings behind closed doors. They didn't want any part of a three-ringed circus like that. Those people knew too clearly what the Nazis were capable of doing to be bamboozled.

Mr. POTTER. There are many distinguished Polish leaders in the United States who will disagree with you.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Throughout my adult life I have been opposed to anti-Semitism and I have been opposed to nazism. And I have met Poles who were in favor of nazism.

Mr. POTTER. But do you not believe there is a great deal of difference between being anti-Fascist and being pro-Communist? To me, as my colleague just mentioned, there is a middle ground that I think is shared by most Polish people who want to live in a democracy.

Are you as vehement in your opposition to communism, which is also a form of totalitarianism, as you are to fascism?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Fascism has threatened the existence of the United States.

Mr. POTTER. You do not have to tell me a thing about fascism.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. All right. Whereas communism has never threatened the existence of the United States.

Mr. KEARNEY. What was that?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. You heard it right, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Would you mind repeating that?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Communism has never threatened—you asked my position on political grounds, the grounds of antifascism. You will find that those people who are pro-Fascist are among the most ardent anti-Communists, and vice versa. And that has nothing to do in common with the struggle for democracy.

Mr. POTTER. That is a gimmick.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Explain that "gimmick" to me, please.

Mr. POTTER. Because a person is anti-Communist it has been a trick that all Communist organizations have used to classify those people as Fascists or pro-Fascists.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. No; not necessarily, sir. It is very clear that there are many people who, for their own beliefs, oppose communism, that are not pro-Fascist.

Mr. POTTER. There are many men in this country today who have done much more to defeat fascism than probably you—

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. That is your opinion, of course.

Mr. POTTER. Well, their personal sacrifice has been much more—and who are equally vehement anti-Communists. They believe that people can live in a democracy—

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Which is their right, sir, under the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. POTTER. Without going from one totalitarian extreme to another.

Now, to carry on further, I believe that Congressman Machrowicz sent you a copy of a speech that was placed in the Congressional Record which explained his views completely.

Did you show him the courtesy of publishing that speech in your publication?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I published his letter in full, just as he sent it to me, and I published my letter in answer to that particular letter, and indicated that what I was interested in was seeing his words changed into action, to see that the situation that occasionally takes place on the Senate floor is not repeated, that speeches on the Senate floor, which can only bring shame to the United States are not left unchallenged.

Mr. WALTER. And the very thing you objected to was deleted from the record.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. And may I add—

Mr. WALTER. Then what action may be taken, other than words, as you put it?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I may add that Representative Rankin's statement in the appendix was not eliminated, sir.

Mr. WALTER. That was not the statement made in the course of debate. But what he said in debate was expunged from the record.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Yes, as a result of the pressure that was placed against these people, against Congressman Madden and against Congressman Machrowicz.

Mr. POTTER. And did you give them credit in your paper?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. In my publication—you have it before you—in my answer I am very specific. I ask Mr. Machrowicz when will he go from words to action, and I point out concretely what I meant.

Mr. WALTER. What do you mean by "action"? Throwing a man physically off the floor of the House?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. No, I don't believe in force and violence, sir.

Mr. WALTER. But was it action?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. For instance, when Mr. Rankin arises again on the floor, I might pose the same question to all the gentlemen here. Have you ever taken exception to his anti-Semitism and Negro baiting?

Mr. JACKSON. I have taken violent action against it in my own district. Before you speak of things about which you have absolutely no knowledge whatsoever, I suggest you go to the record and make some inquiries. I dare say every member of this committee has on occasion in his own district taken violent exception to things that have been said.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. In his own district, he may have, but not in the Congress.

Mr. JACKSON. Our districts are districts for which we are responsible, the districts that send us to Congress and expect direct representation. In my case, I have spoken several times on the floor of the House on this, as I intend to in future.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. I would appreciate—

Mr. JACKSON. And so far as this Michigan paper of yours is concerned, it parrots exactly the line of the U. S. S. R. Bulletin and the Communist Daily Worker. I see no difference.

You say that communism does not pose a threat to this country. I think every Communist today is guilty of treason.

He is blood brother of the Russian and Chinese Communists. I see no difference whatever.

You have expressed your opinion, and I want to put mine in the record.

Mr. KEARNEY. I understood you to say that the Communist Party offered no threat to the security of this country.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. You asked the question about communism threatening this country. It is my opinion, sir, that communism does not threaten this country.

Mr. KEARNEY. May I ask you, then, why the 11 Communists were tried and convicted in New York City 2 weeks ago and the conviction sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. They were convicted for a conspiracy to "advocate" if you read the case.

Mr. KEARNEY. They were the leaders of the Communist Party in this country.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. There is no doubt about it.

But the courts have made mistakes. And the American people have forced the courts and their decisions and the actions taken by your honorable body to change, and that is clear, too.

Mr. WALTER. I would like to ask a question about your visit to Poland in 1948.

Did you learn anything about the expulsions of people from Poland to Siberia?

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. As a matter of fact, I covered Poland from one end to the other. I was in motion all the time. I knew Poland before the war, and I got acquainted with it in 1948. I have yet to meet one single family that could have claimed that Joe Kobolski or John Somebodyelse could have been deported, sir. And these fantastic tales that we take as God's truth very frequently are created in somebody's very fantastic mind.

Mr. WALTER. Of course, my information, the information that has come to the Subcommittee on Immigration in the course of our studies of displaced persons, is entirely different, at great variance.

Mr. DOMBROWSKI. Well, these displaced persons were not in Poland after the change in the government there, and there are no authorities on what took place there. They refused to return to Poland even when they were asked to return to Poland.

Mr. WALTER. For very obvious reasons.

Is there anything further, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WALTER. The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock. The witness may be excused.

(Whereupon, at 1:15 p. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m. this same day.)

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